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Very truly,  
J. L. Nugent.



LIFE WORK  
OF  
THOMAS L. NUGENT

---

EDITED BY  
MRS. CATHARINE NUGENT

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“ To serve the great as if it were the small;  
To serve the small as if it were the great;  
To be in each the servant of the all;  
To move as lightning, or to stand and wait.”

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PUBLISHED BY CATHARINE NUGENT  
STEPHENVILLE, TEXAS

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CATHARINE NUGENT,

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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

TO

MY DEAR HUSBAND

WHOSE BEAUTIFUL LIFE AND UNTIRING DEVOTION HAVE BEEN MY INSPIRATION  
AND UPLIFTING AMID LIFE'S TRIALS DURING THE FIFTEEN YEARS OF  
A HAPPY EARTHLY UNION, AND ARE NOW MY GUIDING  
STAR TO A HIGHER REALM



## PREFACE

It has been well said that no great man is an accident. To the mind believing in an over-ruling providence, this seems true. If that Power which creates and sustains all things does, indeed, direct the affairs of nations and of individuals, then every factor in all great problems must of necessity be an integral, an indispensable part of its solution. Such a factor in the great problem of political reform now pressing for solution in this and other nations, was the subject of this volume, Thomas Lewis Nugent.

In its pages will be found an account of his ancestry, nativity, childhood, domestic and religious character, professional career, political advocacies, his campaigns of 1892 and 1894, his views on the land question, his death and burial, funeral notices, resolutions and eulogisms of various bodies, letters and telegrams of condolence, etc., constituting a *thesaurus* of all that was most valuable in the life, labors and death of this remarkable man.

Here will be found the inspiration, hope and soul of a great reformer, the logic of a great reasoner, the sympathy of the true humanitarian, the wisdom of the philosopher, and the prophetic ken of the seer.

His speeches have been declared, even by his political opponents, to be unassailable at every point. His character, likewise, was proof against calumny, which, through all his career, dared not hurl a shaft at him. Armed and equipped, inspired and fired with the matchless thoughts and arguments abounding in this volume, a young reader will feel strengthened in his conflict with the difficulties of life—an older one, thrice happy in his retrospect of all that is noble in his own past; while both

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will be encouraged amid the trials of the present, and hopeful for the future.

But it was in his labors in behalf of political reform, that the real grandeur of this character shone forth. Here, indeed, will be found the man far in advance of his time, the pioneer further along, and higher in his plane of life than the unhappy masses; yea, far beyond and above even the wise and the learned of the old "schools." He seemed to see the stolid indifference of many, through ignorance, to their rights and wrongs. He evidently comprehended the blindness of the leaders in political thought and action, and mourned their inability to see the happiness that might be secured for the great body of people and themselves by a simple return to principles and politics truly unselfish and absolutely just. Believing that the woes of mortal life rise mainly out of man's violation of the just laws and commands of nature, he strove, as perhaps no other leader in the State, to establish a political system on the Golden Rule. His whole soul seemed to be filled with the thought, as expressed in the views of a contemporaneous writer:

"Oh, where is the yearning of souls for the right?  
Oh, where is the turning of souls unto God?  
Why do men in deep valleys still grope in the night,  
While the mountain tops blaze in the splendor of light,  
And pathways lead upwards where angels have trod,  
And realms are in reach so ineffably bright?  
Are pain and destruction more alluring to man  
Than the bliss that's assured in God's wonderful plan?"

To this blindness of the leaders and this indifference and ignorance of the masses, he devoted his most earnest and most unselfish efforts. To show them the path to true happiness and real prosperity, was the desire of his life. In this behalf and to this end he bent the energies of his mind and body, sparing neither when fitting occasion offered for their proper exertion.

That a life so noble and so unselfish may not have been in vain, this volume goes forth a reflection, dim it is true, but the best that may be caught thereof. And it is hoped that when

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man shall have been restored to his proper, his normal relation to his government, his public servants, his neighbor and himself, among the names of those whose teachings and example aided mightily the great result, will brightly shine forth that of him whose thoughts and deeds are preserved in this volume, Thomas Lewis Nugent.





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## BIOGRAPHY

Thomas Lewis Nugent was born at Opelousas, Louisiana, July 16, 1841. His father, Thomas Nugent, was a native of Ireland, having been born on his father's estate near Rashi-sowney, Queen's County, Ireland, in 1792. Being the younger son of a large family, he resolved to seek his fortune in America. He arrived at Philadelphia in November, 1816. In 1818 he went from Philadelphia to Natchez, Miss. From Mississippi he went to New Orleans. In 1827 he married Miss Anne Lavinia Lewis, daughter of Judge Seth Lewis, Chief Justice of the Mississippi Territory and subsequently for many years District or Circuit Judge of Louisiana. After his marriage he settled in Opelousas, where Thomas Lewis Nugent was born. Thomas Nugent's family were all members of the Church of England, in which church he had been confirmed before leaving Ireland. Being associated with Methodists in America, he joined that branch of the Christian church. Both he and his wife were deeply pious, and it was from them that their son Thomas Lewis, inherited his strong love for the study and investigation of religious subjects. His father was noted for honesty and integrity, and a sweetness of disposition that, in a man, was remarkable. His mother was a woman of strong character, very solid and practical, and of firmly fixed principles. She seems to have made a deep impression upon the characters of all her children. She was highly cultivated and intelligent, and kept well informed on all subjects. She could discuss politics, as well as other subjects, with the ablest and her sons, who all adored her, found her no mean companion and sympathizer.

Thomas Lewis had a fine ear for music and though his musical talent seems never to have had any training, he played well upon the violin even when a child, and his playing was a source of great pleasure to all his family in their home life.

When he was a small boy a brother-in-law, who was very fond of him, presented him with a very fine instrument which he kept with him all through his college life. He was systematic in his enjoyment of this pastime, as in all things, and it was his custom to spend a short time each evening after supper in playing his violin before beginning his studies for the night. He was at that time studying for the Methodist ministry, and the only thing that marred his pleasure grew out of the fact that many good religious people of that day looked upon the violin as more in keeping with his Satanic Majesty than with a theological student. Criticism was always painful to him and he preferred never to give offense to any one; but true to the principle which actuated his after life, not seeing or feeling any adverse results from the use of his violin, he continued to give utterance to the music of his soul upon its chords.

He was of a deeply religious turn of mind and spent hours in reading the Bible and pondering over deep theological questions when most boys would have been at play.

Among his father's slaves was Nancy, a woman who from birth had been an invalid. She was the child of his mother's cook who, in turn, had been the child of his grandmother's cook. Poor Nancy had inherited along with her misfortunes an hereditary kindness and sympathy from her mistress' family. During her last months of suffering, she could no longer go up to the "big house" where she had been for thirty years an object of painful anxiety and care; but was confined to her cabin. The young Thomas would go after supper to see her, when he would read the Bible to her and pray with her. He had been reading and praying with her the night she died. This was at an age when most boys think only of the pleasures and allurements of life.

His childhood days were very happy and the memory of them was a source of pleasure to him through all the cares and trials of after life. He wrote to a brother, March 11, 1873.

"MY DEAR BROTHER:

"I received and read your letter with many emotions I cannot express. It seems to me like a voice from the distant past, speaking of childhood and youth and the halcyon days that are crowded and filled with blessed memories and fragrant with

purity and peace. Recollections of the good old days when we sported round our mother's knee will never cease to yield me a fragrant joy."

He graduated at Centenary College, La., with the highest honors in 1861. Immediately afterwards he went to Texas for his health which had been much impaired by hard and continuous application to his studies. He returned home in a few months, but in 1862 he went back to Texas where he permanently settled. He enlisted and served in the army in Texas during the war. He had many doubts even then, though belonging to a large slave holding family, of the righteousness of the institution of slavery. When the news of Lee's surrender came, he said, "The hand of God is in it."

At the close of the war he taught school in Austin and in other places. Many of his pupils are now scattered through Texas, and it is said they all remember him with great respect and affection. One of them said of him that his great capacity of drawing to himself the love and respect of all men, was very marked in his relations with his pupils.

In 1870 he was admitted to the bar and commenced the practice of law. In 1871 he settled in Bosque County, then on the frontier. His learning and fidelity to duty were soon recognized and he became well known in that section. In 1873 he removed to Stephenville, in Erath County, where he lived, with the exception of a two year's residence in El Paso, until he removed to Fort Worth in 1891. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1875, and served with distinguished ability and eminent satisfaction to his constituents. He was appointed by Governor Roberts, in 1879, to preside as District Judge over the newly-created 29th Judicial District, consisting of Palo Pinto, Hood, Somervell, Hamilton, Coryell and Erath Counties. He was subsequently elected twice in succession to this office which he resigned in July, 1888.

In 1892 he was unanimously nominated by the People's Party of Texas as candidate for Governor. He considered the canvass hopeless except for its educational effects upon the people; but as his greatest desire was to contribute to the uplifting and enlightenment of the masses of the people, he

consented, though at a great sacrifice of his business interests and health, to lead the "forlorn hope."

He was again nominated by acclamation by the same party, in 1894. Had he lived, he would most probably have led the party to victory in 1896.

He died at Fort Worth, December 14, 1895.

His whole life and character are embraced in the simple words—the last that fell from his lips on earth—"I have tried to do my duty."

\* \* \*

Of all the great and good men who have lived in Texas, there was, perhaps, not one who developed more rapidly or more securely in public esteem, as he became known than did Judge Thomas L. Nugent, the leader of the People's party in the State of Texas.

And of all the great and good men who have died in Texas, none, I believe, was more universally beloved or more sincerely and universally mourned. His life and death are an invaluable lesson to all men, but especially to the rising generations, that must, in the near future, take their places on the stage of public action, made vacant by retirement from public life, old age and death.

To the People's party, Judge Nugent was while living a "pillar of cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night." In death, his memory is an inspiration—a beacon light as his soul goes marching on.

In life, his detractors were few. In death, his eulogists were legion—from bar, press and people—the nature, quality and sincerity of which may be epitomized by a republication of the eloquent expressions of his friend, James Armstrong, Jr., of Hempstead, Texas, published in the *Galveston News*, and which reads as follows:

HEMPSTEAD, TEXAS, December 17, 1895.

*To the News:*

Statesman, jurist, philosopher and patriot—the friend of truth, of justice and benevolence, our beloved and loving comrade has passed to rest. His heart still beating warmly with sympathy for his suffering fellow-men, his soul still bravely



following amid the wreck of hope and the mists of tears an ever-beckoning ideal; his eyes still turned towards the "purpling east," from out whose brightening horizon the angels of love and peace were calling still their chosen pilgrim; his unstained spirit grew weary of its home of clay, and breaking the bonds of its immurement, hastened to the fulfillment of its dreams. He had placed a burden upon his shoulders beyond his strength, and, faltering for a moment to rest his wearied energies, "he fell into that dreamless sleep that kisses down his eyelids still." In the midst of duties and the tide of years, while yet the shifting sands were scarcely run and desire was about to clasp the hand of opportunity; while time was reassuring hope and wreathing for him an amaranthine crown of civic glory—he fell, a blessed martyr. He had not entered yet the gathering shadows of life's golden sunset, where, in the stream of mellow light, Age recalls the record of the years, and, conscious of days well spent, awaits the gloaming as calmly as the moonlight greets the sea.

Three score and ten would have added nothing to his greatness. He filled the measure of ideal manhood in wisdom, justice, goodness. Among his fellowmen he was the standard of companions. His wisdom was the unfailing guide of thousands; his justice a fountain of perpetual joy. His kindness was a sea that welcomed every tributary stream of sadness and of sorrow, and touched the shores of poverty and distress throughout the world. His soul dwelt in the shadow of the towering deformity of existing institutions, and there he heard, or seemed to hear, the constant cries of those who groped within the gloom of woe and misery. His human sympathy fathomed the depths of all despair, and could his hand have lent assistance to his heart, he would have led the victims of greed and guile into the sun-kissed plains of prosperity and peace.

His life lent dignity to human nature. His purposes were beyond the reach of calumny; his deeds were the admiration of all men and the achievement of the few. His death made thousands mourn the loss of a common benefactor. Truth was the shrine at which he worshipped, and duty the object of his veneration. In whatever department of life he moved, he adorned his sphere of action with the grace of the scholar and

the virtues of the man. The voice of misery reached his ear, and if his hands were not the constant ministers of kindly offices, it was because the objects that touch the heart of sympathy were not constantly before him. As a citizen, he was beyond all censure; as a politician, he preserved his purity; as a statesman, he maintained his self-respect. In an age of greed, he was generous to the impoverishment of himself; in an age of intense selfishness, he sacrificed his life for the welfare of his fellow-men. In an age of partisans and spoilsmen, he said that political leadership was something more than the service of friends—it was the service of humanity. To the oppressed, his words were as a guiding star, whose mellow and far-reaching rays came like a messenger of joy to thousands of life's hopeless voyagers. Living apart from the majority of men, he won the love of those who dwelt with him, and commanded the esteem of those who knew him only as a visitor; while his departure now from both touches every heart to tears. And if, as he believed, death is but a fleeting shadow between the confines of two worlds, a passing cloud eclipsing time and immortality—if, as he confidently hoped, the grave is but an open door to another and better life, his own unsullied spirit will be among the brightest that throng that happier realm. To those who still loiter along the shore of time, peering vainly across the wide expanse for a sail from unknown lands, he has left the example of a life well spent—the ennobling memory of a man whose every word was rounded out by love and justice, whose every deed was born of infinite kindness for his fellow-man.

“Farewell, O brave and generous man.” Our grief cannot be told in words. Our falling tears are shattered prisms that reflect a thousand miseries.

Thy words and deeds and life are a priceless legacy of liberty and love.

The world neither has, nor can have, memories more sacred or enduring than are those of thy incomparable manhood. Above thy consecrated dust, the sculptured shaft can only speak the truth. Neither the page of history nor the voice of song can exaggerate thy work and worth.

My brother Thomas was born July 16, 1841. He was nearly two years and five months older than I; but other differences between us indicated a much greater difference between our ages. He was vigorous, strong and well grown for his age until he was about 16 years old; I was small, rather delicate and frail until I was over 18. He was meditative and studious, even when a boy. I cannot recall any boyishness in him. I do not remember ever seeing him play marbles, though he would sometimes play ball. He liked horseback riding, though he was never enthusiastic, during his youth, in any kind of sport. Whatever "wild oats" he may have sown were sown before he was eighteen years of age; for, when he was at home in the summer of 1859 (he was 18 on July 16, that year) he was already a deeply pious and devoted Christian.

I was almost constantly with him from July, 1860, to October, 1861, and during that time he was such an example of Christian living as I have rarely known. A more guileless, humble, self-sacrificing man, old or young, it would be hard to find. Throughout his life his letters to me have indicated the same earnest religious purpose and practice. Though his views of the Christian doctrines had undergone a radical change at most points, yet his firm faith in God incarnated in Christ, a real "faith which worketh by love," never failed nor wavered. His views threw him out of harmony with the churches as to theology, but not as to the religious life; and his reliance upon the mercy of God remained steadfast. He had a nature so earnest that he could not be a trifler even when a boy. Play soon palled on his taste. As far back as my memory of him can go his boyhood comes back to me as one somewhat out of harmony with those of equal age, on account of that undertone of seriousness which in his youth became a chief characteristic of him. Before he was old enough to appreciate the great responsibilities of life his mind seemed to dwell on the larger questions that arrest the attention and engage the interest of older heads. He would spend his vacations almost wholly in reading and writing history. Its great movements and its great men were his delight. When he entered college, a little after he was sixteen, he had a good general knowledge of his-

tory, rapidly increased during his four years spent there. (Centenary College, La.)

He read with avidity the lives of great men who had risen to eminence in Church and State; and when he read he meditated. He read philosophy and wrestled with its problems early in life, perhaps too early, for his mind was naturally speculative.

I have a picture in my mind, distinct and clear in every detail as any on the walls of my memory. My brother Thomas, a youth, sitting on the front porch of our home on the Atchafalaya river, in Louisiana, a volume of Clark's Commentary in his hand, where many a day he sat for hours reading the Holy Scriptures and thinking upon them. This serious, reverential study of the Word of God, and the edifying conversation thereon with mother which accompanied or followed it, accounts in some measure for the greatness of heart and the true, clear, moral insight which characterized him throughout his career. No doubt if he had been asked at any time who, under God, exerted the greatest influence in the formation of his character, he would at once have replied, "Mother." That would be true; yet some of the finest phases of his moral and spiritual manhood reflect ideals that came to him through his father.

Thomas always stood high in his classes, and would have taken the first honor if the exercises of the college had continued. The war broke out, many of the older boys went to the army and he and I went home several weeks before the Commencement would have occurred. He was a diligent student, not only for love's sake but for conscience's sake. He read much and composed much. He was regarded as one of the best speakers in a large literary society. He joined the society soon after entering college and rapidly rose to the first place among its speakers, and was one of the best debaters. He resolved at the very beginning to take part in every debate, whether appointed or not, even if he had failed to make any preparation. His rule was to prepare for the debate every week. As a consequence it came to pass within a short time that he was a ready debater and speaker, having a singularly easy and fluent style. He would (unless appointed on the

other side) choose the side which he thought to be right, and would argue those questions for practice with as much earnestness as if he thought grave and serious consequences would follow should they be wrongly decided.

At the end of his freshman year he was elected one of four, out of a large membership in the society, to deliver an original speech at Commencement. He delivered his speech a few days before he was seventeen years old. I was quite proud of him, and thought him the smartest boy in the college. Twice during his Sophomore and Junior years, in February and July, and once in his Senior year he was honored with the same distinction.

Thomas was always a manly boy, and withal an exceedingly generous soul. When I was ten years old, in a sudden heat of temper (brought on by him unintentionally) I really put his life in peril for a moment. I was overwhelmed with fear in an instant for what I might have done. The negro house-girl said, "You ought to tell your mother about it. He might have killed you. If you don't I will." To my dying day I will never forget that noble boy (13 years old) that almost unparalleled brother, as he said, "Phillis, if you tell on him and get him a whipping I will give you a pounding if I get a thrashing for it." I was thrashed enough then. Many years since reaching manhood I have kept *that* in my mind. It has often brought tears to my eyes, as memory carried me back to the days of childhood. My oldest sister related to me last summer that when we were children she knew him to take punishment which I deserved more than he did, because he did not want to see me in distress and because he thought it unworthy to implicate me.

If undying love, inexpressible brotherly love, and life-long repentance have sufficed to wipe out my childish sins against him, they have long since been put away. His boyhood and youth made such an impression on me that I have recognized its effect until this day, with sentiments of gratitude to God and devotion to him.

REV. J. C. NUGENT.

\* \* \*

## JUDGE T. L. NUGENT—THE LAWYER.

Of Judge Nugent's life a number of persons have written. Of his life as a lawyer it is my pleasure to write.

When I first met him, in 1878, he was already in successful practice. For about ten years he had practiced his chosen profession—first at Meridian and then at Stephenville. In 1878 he and Judge H. H. Neill were associated under the firm name of Nugent & Neill. It was a strong firm, and its practice was as good as that of any of the frontier lawyers in this part of the State. Frontier practice is, necessarily, varied in character. There is no room for the specialist. Consequently the frontier lawyer learns something of almost every branch of the practice and is compelled to be a student of the law in all its phases. Both partners were hard workers and hard students, and to each has come a recognition of his worth and abilities. It is pleasant, too, to remember that their warm friendship continued until death came to one of them, and that no differences of belief or politics ever affected it.

As a lawyer at the bar Judge Nugent was unusually successful. He was able to select the most salient points of his case and to make the contest upon them. He avoided contest upon unimportant points, and by conceding them to his adversary, appeared to have the greater right to contend on the material issues of his case. In the practice, he was courteous always, and never forgot the deference due to others. In him the presiding judge had an able assistant, who had studied all sides of the case being tried and could refer to all the decisions. In argument he was strong, as a public speaker some of his efforts deservedly took high rank; but many of his arguments while at the bar were models of accurate statement, strong logical reasoning, and of beautifully accurate language. Whether written or spoken, his mastery of the English language was unusual. Many of his law arguments deserve a place in the literature of our profession.

As a lawyer he was one of the most genial and companionable of the members of the bar. In most country towns the lawyers constitute a sort of social club and when the work of the day is over, they are apt to discuss the many questions

which interest men—the latest news, the latest discoveries in science, religious and social topics. Upon most subjects Judge Nugent was always well informed and a charming conversationalist.

To the beginner in the practice, he was always helpful; and for words of encouragement spoken, advice or assistance kindly given, many a young lawyer will gladly make acknowledgement. Of this the writer can speak advisedly and gratefully.

No man was more careful of his professional reputation—more careful to deserve the confidence which was his. His word given to one of his professional brethren as to any matter in any case was all that was ever required. The ethics of his profession he guarded with punctilious care. He was a lawyer and proud of his profession and proud of his own standing in the profession. Infinitely better for the world would it be, if the legal profession were permitted to make the profession what his conception of it was. But, unfortunately, there is a demand that men who have no qualification for it shall find admission to it—for cheap lawyers—cheap in value.

For the needed and proper reformation of the bar, he was ever an earnest advocate. At one time he assisted the writer in preparing a bill to regulate and control the admission of candidates for the bar. But for the reforms provided the politicians were not desirous. Senator L. N. Frank introduced the bill, but it could never run the gauntlet of one of the houses of the Texas Legislature.

Judge Nugent loved his profession. The demagogue who derided the legal profession never found an advocate in him. While he lamented the fact that unworthy men could find an entrance, he knew that the great body of the legal profession were men of intelligence and refinement, and useful conservators of our institutions. In no other way can be more fully shown his clear conception of the duties of the lawyer and the judge, and the lawyer's position in, and relation to, our civilization, than by giving here a letter from him to the writer. This was upon an occasion when the Stephenville bar had expressed resolutions of love and regard for him, and regret at his departure when he removed to Fort Worth,

FORT WORTH, Texas, Jan. 11, 1892.

LEE YOUNG, ESQ., Stephenville, Texas:

*Dear Lee*,—On Saturday night last, my wife read to me the resolutions passed by the Stephenville bar on the occasion of my removal to this place, and on this morning, I find the same resolutions published in the *Gazette*. Language would fail me, Lee, to express my grateful approval of this generous action by professional gentlemen with whom I have been intimately associated for so many years. I have always prized the good opinion of my professional brethren very highly, because association with lawyers from my earliest childhood has taught me that the profession is the school of schools for high-souled honor and integrity, for manly devotion to duty, and for lofty and unselfish patriotism. I know that there are those who are apt to criticise lawyers severely, but while recognizing the exceptions to the rule, my long experience on the bench and at the bar has not given me any reason to participate in or sympathize with the indiscriminate criticism of lawyers as a class. They have their faults like other men, but do away with this noble class of men and civil liberty would perish in a decade. The history of struggling freemen would read but poorly, if the recitals of heroic sacrifices made by lawyers in defence of human rights were eliminated from its pages. Indeed, they are the bulwarks of constitutional freedom in Christendom to-day. Is it wonderful, therefore, that with such an opinion of lawyers, I should regard the warm-hearted commendation of the Stephenville bar as a sort of benediction—a veritable blessing falling down and around me from the good genius of friendship and brotherly love!

One thing, Lee, I would like to say—when I was first appointed to the bench, I felt most deeply my dependence upon intelligent lawyers for the successful accomplishment of my work. I made up my mind, therefore, to give them full time for discussion, hear them patiently and dispassionately, and treat them with the kindness and consideration which they deserved. I am not willing to say that I always observed this rule, but in the main I did; and to this I attribute chiefly what success I attained on the bench. You will find this to be the only safe rule when you come to serve the people in judicial position. Of course, I know that your natural inclinations all lead you in that direction; but what I mean to say is, that on the bench, you will for the first time come to know how utterly dependent upon good lawyers a judge is, and you will then for the first time fully understand why a judge who imagines himself independent of lawyers always makes a failure.



I want you and the other members of the Stephenville bar to know, that all the experiences of the past—the professional rivalries, the forensic contests, the political differences, and all the other ups and downs—have not left a single sting in my heart. What the future may have for me, I do not know; but I expect to cherish my association with that bar as among the most precious memories of my life.

With cordial wishes for your success and prosperity.

Very truly yr. friend,

T. L. NUGENT.

Judge Nugent exemplified his own conception of the lawyer and the judge—of him no one could say more.

But his influence reached out to others, and helped them to be what he conceived the true lawyer. He worked earnestly for the upbuilding of his profession—for the ennobling the lives of the men in the profession. He felt that in a government of law, a knowledge of the law was necessary for the preservation of the government, and he conceived it to be the duty of every citizen to exercise his intelligence. But he recognized that the enactment and execution of the law was the lawyer's special field of duty.

Of his ability and success as a judge, others have written. But we of the Stephenville bar always loved him and claimed him, and felt that he was more especially ours. Here the best years of his manhood were spent. Here his first successes were won. Here our people felt that they had special interest in him; and this feeling was not changed by his removal to a higher field—by differences in political beliefs—or anything else.

During all his political life, none dared speak one word against the purity of his life or character. The slanderer was dumb, and his home people were ever ready to attest their love for and confidence in him. Here, when the end came, he finds a resting place in the soil of our East Side cemetery, upon his own old homestead. *Requiescat in pace.*

LEE YOUNG, of the Stephenville Bar.

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## JUDGE NUGENT AS A POLITICAL LEADER.

In the great movement which culminated in the formation of the People's Party in 1892, and in which Texas came to the front, and in the succeeding campaign, Judge Nugent was the recognized and undisputed leader in this State. But he was a most remarkable political leader; he was not personally ambitious; he had no thought of becoming famous, and he had no desire for office. In these usual characteristics of political leadership he was wanting. Thirty minutes before his nomination for Governor, he did not think that he would consent to be a candidate. He did not expect the People's Party to be victorious in that campaign; but it was not this that caused him to protest against his name going before the convention; for, though not financially and physically able to fight a losing battle, he would not for a moment have hesitated to lead a forlorn hope in the cause he so firmly believed to be just, had he realized that he was the most suitable man to lead in the contest. When the first campaign was over, he honestly thought that he would not again be a candidate, and consented to accept the second nomination for Governor only after it was apparent that it was the unanimous wish of the reformers of Texas that he should do so, and when he saw that not to do so would discourage the patriotic host who were calling upon him to again lead them in the battle for the right. Judge Nugent believed himself to be unfitted for political leadership. In the ordinary sense of the term, he was right. He was not combative. He had none of the spirit of Job's war horse, that sniffed the battle afar off and was eager for the fray. With clear, prophetic vision, he saw the hosts of the people broken and driven back from the citadels of plutocracy; and, though he never doubted that they would ultimately be victorious, his heart bled for the suffering which he knew they must endure. He was incapable of dissembling—a thing which is supposed by many to be necessary to political leadership. Victory for the sake of triumph was not to him a pleasant thought. He looked upon the sufferings and oppressions of the people more in sorrow than in anger. He would rather have converted his opponents than to have defeated them. His was the spirit that caused

Jesus to weep over Jerusalem instead of contemplating with satisfaction the doom that its crimes and ingratitude were soon to bring upon it.

Reform movements naturally attract two classes of men who are liable to injure them. The one is the honest enthusiast who has zeal without knowledge, and is ever anxious to crystallize some cranky notion in the platform of his party. Judge Nugent's calm judgment could not be imposed upon by the honest zeal and fallacious arguments of the men of this class. In nothing did he render his party greater service than in kindly, but firmly, unseating the hobby horse riders in the counsels of the party. The other class are the frauds, who seek to direct the reform movements to their personal gain. Not only was Nugent's whole nature opposed to frauds and shams, but he intuitively recognized them, even when masquerading under the guise of patriotism which, though not, as has been cynically said, "the last refuge of the scoundrel" is often the surest one. His was the intelligence and moral courage to keep a reform movement both pure and practical. In another element of political leadership was he deficient. That was oratory, as the term is commonly understood. He had none of that rant that pleases the ear of the thoughtless. He had none of the bitter invectives and cutting repartee that makes the tiger rise in men and say, "Hit him again." He was not funny. He could not have made a clown of himself had he tried. But he was pleasant in his presentation of the truth, and earnest in his refutation of error. His premises were true, his logic faultless, and his conclusions irresistible. His soul was in the cause, his heart was in his speech, and the people heard him gladly. Political honesty was his plan of campaign, fairness was his only strategy, and truth his only diplomacy. In any cause but a just one, he could not have been a leader; but in such a one he was a leader without a peer.

C. H. JENKINS.

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My relations with Judge Nugent were of the most intimate character. When I first began the practice of law he was the recognized leader of the bar in the section of the state in which

we lived. As a practitioner, he was always courteous and fair to court, counsel and witnesses, and was one of the most successful attorneys I ever met. If, as a practicing lawyer, he excelled in any one respect, it was in his ability to cross-examine an unwilling or false witness.

It was, however, as a trial judge that Judge Nugent laid the foundation for his enduring reputation. I am prepared to speak particularly on this point, for I practiced continually before him during the ten years he was on the bench, and for four years of the time I was the prosecuting attorney of the district of which he was the judge. We travelled over the country together, from county seat to county seat, in a buggy, and generally stopped at the same hotel while the courts were in session. This threw us together continually and enabled me to form a more correct estimate of his mental characteristics and gave me a better insight into his moral worth than perhaps any one else possessed. I do not hesitate to say that I do not believe a more conscientious man than Judge Nugent ever lived. In fact, I sometimes thought that his fear that he might not do exact justice in cases pending before him, led him to hesitate too long in reaching his conclusions. There was absolutely no prejudice in his composition. I believe he would have decided any matter, as I know he did many times, against his best friend as quickly as against his worst enemy.

But it is not only as a just man that I wish to speak of Judge Nugent. He was a particularly learned lawyer, and excelled any one I ever knew in his ability to express legal propositions clearly and satisfactorily in his charges to the jury. While I have not the books before me to enable me to refer to the volumes in which the cases are reported, I recall many instances in which the Supreme and Appellate courts of our state have commended in the highest terms, and in several instances where they have ordered the reporter to report in full, as correct models, the instructions given to juries by Judge Nugent. The case of David Kemp vs. the State was one of the most complicated cases I ever heard tried, and the charge in the case required the correct definition of murder in the first and second degrees, of manslaughter and justifiable homi-

cide, and their proper application to the facts in evidence; and in this case, the Appellate Court, after commenting most favorably upon the charge, ordered it to be copied in full so that it might serve for the guidance of other trial courts. In the case of Reuben Fitzgerald vs. the State, the court commended the charge in the same way, and so favorably was it received that Mr. Thompson, in his work on Trials, has set it out in full, as a model to be followed in similar cases.

The services rendered to his state by Judge Nugent, not simply in the fair and just discrimination of the law while on the bench, but also in settling many complicated questions and inspiring confidence in the ability as well as the integrity of the bench, cannot be over estimated, and will be appreciated most highly by the profession in the years to come.

The radical differences of opinion on political questions between Judge Nugent and myself never in any way affected our cordial relations, which continued to be not only pleasant, but of the most affectionate character, to the last. I do not think I ever had a more devoted friend; and it is a source of the very greatest pleasure to me to know that I was regarded by Judge Nugent as among his most cherished and particular friends. When I last saw him the shadow of death was upon him. He realized, as I did, that his end was near at hand; and when we parted, it was with the conviction in the mind of each of us that we should not meet again. It was under these circumstances that we separated with the most cordial expressions of regard for each other, and it will ever be a source of pleasure to me to recall the endearing expressions of confidence and esteem with which he bade me adieu.

I was not surprised at his death, and I knew he would answer the summons, as I learn he did, with the Christian fortitude with which he met the trials of life. His example through life is worthy of emulation; and it can be truly said that no one was worse and that many were better for knowing him and understanding his pure, loving and lovable character.

C. K. BELL, Member of Congress.

## JUDGE THOMAS L. NUGENT—A CHARACTER SKETCH.

“His life was gentle; and the elements  
So mixed in him that nature might stand up  
And say to all the world, This was a man.”

There are two kinds of royalty. The one consists of a visible crown, imperial robes and kingly scepter; the other of a regal mind, an imperial conscience and a kingly heart. The one is the royalty of blood, the other the royalty of manhood. The one is hereditary: the other, the gift of God through Jesus Christ the Ideal Man.

No amount of external royalty constitutes the true man. A great intellect, a great conscience, a great heart rooted and ground in great thoughts, great principles and great motives; grandeur and beneficence, majesty and sweetness, strength and purity—these are the elements of true greatness. And these were conspicuous in the life and character of Judge Thomas L. Nugent.

Some men are the slaves of the age in which they live. They impersonate its passions, are in bondage to its corruptions, and are obsequious to its summons. They worship at its shrine and inhale the incense of its flatteries. Some men are a burden to the age in which they live, with pampered pride and titled indolence. Still others are the curse of their day and generation, subverting progress, and perverting truth. But there are men whose lives are cornucopias of blessings to their age. Such a man was the subject of this sketch. He seemed wholly redeemed from the slavery of selfishness, and raised to a divine, disinterested patriotism, philanthropy and love. True manhood was worn as a frontlet on his brow, beamed as a light from his countenance, shed a grace over his manners, gave the tones of sympathy to his voice, and energized his will to do and suffer for the good of his fellow men. He loved men, and nothing dear to human interests was a matter of indifference to him. Man was dear to him for his own sake, not for the spot of earth on which he lived, nor for the language he spoke, nor for his rank in life, but for his humanity, for his spiritual nature, for the image of God in which he was made. There was in his manly breast an interest in human nature, a sym-

pathy with human suffering and a sensibility to the abuses and evils which deform society, and a desire to see all his countrymen rise to a better condition and to a higher virtue.

He stood upon the world's broad threshold; wide  
The din of battle and of slaughter rose;  
He saw God stand upon the weaker side  
That sank in seeming loss before its foes;  
Many there were who made great haste and sold  
Unto the great enemy their swords,  
He scorned their gifts of fame, and power, and gold,  
And underneath their soft and flowery words,  
Heard the cold serpent hiss; therefore he went  
And humbly joined him to the weaker part,  
Fanatic named, and fool, yet well content  
So he could be the nearer to God's heart,  
And feel its solemn pulses sending blood  
Through all the widespread veins of endless good.

He never asked "What is popular?" but "What is right?" He was a man of great intellectual force and refinement of manner. He was charmingly versatile in conversation, and brilliant, and withal so natural and gentle that he drew men to him. To know him was both to admire and to love him.

The character which secured such love it is not difficult to depict, because greatness is simple, artless, and lies open to every eye. It was his distinction that he united in himself those excellences which at first seem to repel each other, though in truth they are of one loving family. This union was so striking as to impress even those who did not enjoy his intimacy. For example, he was a man of lion heart, victorious over fear, gathering strength and animation from danger, and bound the faster to duty by its hardships and privations; and at the same time he was a child in simplicity, sweetness, innocence and benignity. His firmness had not the least alloy of roughness. His mien which could wear a stern decision was generally lighted up with a beautiful mildness; and his voice, which expressed, when occasion required it, an inflexible will, was musical beyond expression.

The union of his virtues seemed to give a singular harmony to his character. His well balanced mind was the admiration of his friends. He had strong feelings, yet a calm judgment;

an unwearied activity, without restlessness or precipitancy. He had vigor and freedom of thought, but not the slightest propensity to rashness. He had professional ardor, but did not sacrifice to his profession the general improvement of his intellect and heart. He loved study, and equally loved society. He had religious sensibility, but a sensibility which never rested until it had found its true perfection and manifestation in practice. He believed in God as revealed in Jesus Christ the Divine Man. And he was not a man in whom such a belief could lie dead. This faith wrought in him powerfully. He was not satisfied with a superficial religion but was particularly interested in those instructions from the pulpit which enjoined a deep, living, all pervading sense of God's presence and authority, and an intimate union of the mind with its Creator. In my frequent conversations with him on spiritual things he convinced me his religion was no less the delight of his heart than the guide of his life. He was calm, inquisitive, rational and unaffected by bigotry or fanaticism. That great maxim of Christianity, "No man liveth to himself," was engraven on his mind. Without profession, or show, or any striking discoveries of emotion, he felt the claim of every thing human on his sympathy and service. His professional engagements did not absolve him to his own conscience from laboring in the cause of mankind; and his steady zeal redeemed from business sufficient time for doing extensive good. In the institutions for useful objects with which he connected himself, he gave more than his property: he contributed his mind, his judgment, his well-directed zeal; and the object which he was found to favor derived advantage from his sanction, no less than from his labors. His benevolence was singularly unalloyed. Those feelings of unkindness which sometimes obscure for a moment the goodness of excellent men, seldom or never passed over him. Those who knew him cannot by any effort of imagination put an acrimonious speech into his lips. In his profession and on the hustings amidst the collisions of rivals, his ambition was so well controlled by his generosity and uprightness that he was never known to sully with an envious breath the honest fame of another, or to withhold a ready testimony to another's worth.



In regard to his intellectual powers, they derived their superiority not only from the liberality of nature, but from the conscientiousness with which they were improved. He early felt the importance of a generous and extensive culture of the mind, and systematically connected with professional studies the pursuit of general literature. He was a striking example of the influence of an operative and enlightened moral sense over the intellect. His views were distinguished not so much by boldness and excursiveness as by clearness, steadiness, judiciousness and truth; and these characteristic properties of his understanding derived their strength, if not existence, from that fairness, rectitude, simplicity, and that love of the true and useful, which entered so largely in his moral constitution. The objects on which he thought and wrote offered themselves to him in the forms, dimensions and colors of reality. He was at once a scientific and practical lawyer, uniting comprehensive views of jurisprudence and laborious research into general principles with a singular accuracy and most conscientious fidelity in investigating the details of the causes committed to him.

He was singularly independent in his judgments. He was not only uninfluenced by authority and numbers, and self-interest and popularity, but also by those he loved and most honored. But with all this firmness of judgment, he never gave offense by positiveness, never challenged assent, never urged his convictions with unbecoming warmth, never in argument passed the limits of the most delicate courtesy, and from reverence of others' rights he encouraged the freest expression of opinion however hostile to his own.

His greatness was unpretending. He had no thought of playing the part of a hero. His greatness was immeasurably above show, and above the arts by which inferior minds thrust themselves on notice. There was a singular union in his character, of self-respect and modesty, which brought out both these qualities in strong relief. He was just to himself without egotism, and too single-hearted and truthful to seek or accept flattery from others. He made no merit, nor did he talk of the sufferings which he had incurred by fidelity to principle. It was a part of his faith that the highest happi-

ness is found in that force of love and lofty principle through which a man surrenders himself wholly to the cause of right and of man; and he proved the truth in his own experience. Though often disappointed, his spirit was buoyant, cheerful, overflowing with life, full of faith and hope, often sportive, and always open to the innocent pleasures which sprung in his path.

He was singularly alive to the domestic affections. Who that saw him in the bosom of his family, can forget the deep sympathies and the overflowing joyousness of his spirit? His home was pervaded by his love as by the sun's light. A stranger might have thought that his whole soul centered there. In his own family, where one's personal qualities are obscured by no disguise, he was equally the object of reverence and love, and he laid the foundation for them in the propriety and gentleness of his own conduct. In the clamor of public duties, home never lost its charms; and he hailed his return to its peaceful shades as an asylum and refreshment from the conflict and corrosion of public duty. His domestic fidelity was repaid by the reciprocal adoration of one of the noblest of women, and by the faithful love of fond children.

He was a Swedenborgian in his faith; but many of the truths taught by this great Seer, are now accepted and incorporated in the creeds of the most orthodox churches. One of the sublime tenets of this faith which he was wont to magnify, and which is now emphasized from the pulpit of to-day, is, *that the value of the future depends entirely upon the value attached to to-day*; there is no magic in the years to come; nothing can bloom in those fairer fields save that which is sown to-day. The great aim of Christianity is not to teach men the glory of the life to come, but the sacredness of the life that now is; not to make men imagine the beauty of heaven, but to make them realize the divinity of each; not to unveil the splendor of the Almighty, enthroned among the angels, but to reveal the deity of the man of Nazareth.

Another tenet seemed also to afford him great pleasure: *The close analogy between the world of nature and the world of spirit*. It was upon this principle that Christ taught. Truths came from his lips, not stated simply on authority, but based on

analogy of the universe. He discerned the connection of things, and read the Eternal Will in the simplest laws of nature.

To Judge Nugent every natural object was resplendent with beauty, and every sound echoed harmony; simple things became transfigured. In the hue of every violet he saw a glimpse of divine affection and a dream of heaven. The forests and fields blazed with deity, and he——

“ Felt a Presence  
Which disturbed him with the joy  
Of elevated thoughts.”

And, now he has gone to his reward in that unseen, eternal world, of which he carried in his own breast a pledge so rich and earnest. He has gone to the fellowship of the Divine Man, whose spirit he so deeply comprehended, and so freely imbibed.

But he is not wholly gone; not gone in heart, for I am sure that a better world has heightened, not extinguished, his affection for his race; and not gone in influence, for his thoughts remain in his works of love, and his memory is laid up as a sacred treasure in many minds. A spirit so rich and beautiful ought to multiply itself in those to whom it is made known. May we all be incited by it to a more grateful, cheerful love of God, and a serener, gentler, nobler love of our fellowmen.

REV. W. F. PACKARD.

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#### A TRIBUTE OF LOVE.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, March 22, 1896.

*Dear Mrs. Nugent:*

I would be pleased to have the biography of your honored husband contain the small meed of praise that I may be able to give. My intimate personal acquaintance with Judge T. L. Nugent began in November, 1893. On the first day of January, 1894, we formed a partnership under the firm name of Nugent & Essex for the practice of law. This partnership was brought about by our mutual friend, Judge

S. Triplett, and continued until Judge Nugent's death. Others, no doubt, have written of Judge Nugent as a lawyer and statesman. I wish to speak of his daily life and conduct as a citizen, a friend, a man. Our partnership had continued but a few days before I began to love him as I loved my father; and every day we were together this attachment grew stronger. He was the most thoroughly honest man I was ever associated with. He took the most consistent and logical view of life and death of any man I ever knew. He had but little use for the ostentatious show and parade of religion, so common in this day and age of the world, yet he had the profoundest respect for the humble Christian. I remember very well that on one occasion, when we were both very busy in the office, some negroes stopped in the street just under our windows and began singing a religious song. I was disposed to feel disturbed, but he remarked in his usual calm manner, "I have the most profound respect for those people. They are certainly true Christians."

To use his own language, he was "thoroughly rooted and grounded in a belief in the Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Life to him was not a race for riches, as it is to most of us, but a place in which to do all the good he could. He was entirely honest in the practice of his profession. He never resorted to strategy, chicanery, or unprofessional methods, either to procure business or in the trial of cases. It grieved him deeply to know that in some instances his brother lawyers had resorted to dark and shadowy methods to procure business and evidence in trials. Yet he never once made any attempt to retaliate. He never permitted his own clients, with his knowledge, to attempt unfair dealings, and when he discovered that his opponents were guilty of them, he did not hesitate to expose them to the court and jury; and this exposure was generally so strong that the shady methods of his opponents were turned to their disadvantage.

Judge Nugent was not only honest as a citizen and a lawyer, but he was honest as a politician. He thoroughly believed that the reforms he advocated were right and just. He did not think that the best way to get office was to advocate these reforms. He did not advocate them for the purpose of securing

office or popularity. He did not resort to unfair methods in his political campaigns. During his last campaign he was approached by persons who opposed a certain religious sect and asked whether, if elected, he would appoint any of the members of that sect to office. He answered by delivering to the delegation one of the most profound lectures on the evils of uniting Church and State, and the tendency in that direction of the efforts of one class of citizens to prevent another class from holding office because of their church faith. He closed by saying, that if he were elected, he would only consider the fitness of appointees for the duties they would be called on to perform. He did not engage in political controversies, as many politicians do. He took but little time to prepare his most profound addresses. His opening speech for the campaign in 1894 was prepared in the office in two days, and during that time he was subject to all the ordinary interruptions of a law office. His Lampasas speech, delivered in the summer of 1895, was prepared in the office in less than two days, and during that time he was constantly interrupted. I do not think that he wrote out any other speeches during the campaign of 1894, or after that time, although he delivered numerous addresses.

Judge Nugent maintained the most admirable private conduct of any man I ever knew. During the time we were together he gave the poorest as much attention and treated them with as much respect as he did the richest. No person was turned away from his office without advice because of poverty or inability to pay. He never became vexed or cross or ill-natured, as so many people do. During the time that his health was failing he was as careful of the feelings of others as he had been before. Never did a cross word escape his lips. He was one of God's true noblemen—true in every relation of life. He was an indulgent husband, a kind and loving father. His only desire to accumulate this world's goods was that he might leave those dependent upon him comfortably situated. He talked as calmly of death as he did of making a trip to Stephenville, his old home. Death, in his estimation, was simply laying aside the body with which the immortal part of man is encumbered. I do not believe that his ideas of Heaven were the same as those entertained by many of us. I

do not think he expected to be ushered right up to the throne of God on the release of his soul from the body; but that the spirit, freed from earthly limitations, would enter into an untrammelled life of higher activity and usefulness wherein the holy attributes of Divinity could be contemplated in more and more fullness as the soul grew in spiritual knowledge.

I was with him continually for about twenty hours just before the end came. His vocal organs were paralyzed and he could not articulate, but during his intervals of consciousness his countenance showed no fear nor remorse; but Divinity itself appeared to be pictured there.

The end came without a struggle or the movement of a muscle. I closed his eyes in death with feelings of inexpressible sorrow and a solemn prayer to God that my life might be as blameless and my death as peaceful as his had been.

W. S. ESSEX.

\* \* \*

“When beggars die,  
There are no comets seen; the heavens themselves  
Blaze forth the death of princes.”

Thus sang England's greatest poet, four hundred years ago, and as to poets it is often given to utter truths of heavenly things unknown to other men, we may believe, that on the night of the 15th of December, 1895, the heavens of the rejoicing angels blazed forth with the glorious light of welcome to a brother come home; for on that day a prince had been gathered to his fathers.

This prince was not crowned and robed and sceptered with the vain pomps of earthly splendors. No royal retinue followed his footsteps as he walked our streets, sat at our table, deliberated in our council chambers, and held sweet intercourse with the people. No armed guards with glittering bayonets marched in front of him to prevent his assassination. No poor man trembled for his life as he approached. Little children did not run to the safe retreat of motherly arms as he passed them on the sidewalk. Laws for the uplifting of selfish wealth and impudence on the shoulders of honest toiling men can not be traced to him. He was a prince in the true sense of the word.

Well might the heavens blaze forth the triumphant home going of such a man. And we cannot but think they did, for we know that in heaven the angels rejoice to hear the command to bring the soul of a good man to take possession of his mansions on high.

Another poet, less great, several hundred years ago, described this uncrowned prince of ours in these words,

“An honest man’s the noblest work of God.”

While Scripture assures us that, “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.”

Protestantism has her saints, not canonized by pope and churchly authority, not wearing their lives away in prayers and penance within cloistered walls. These saints are walking our streets, clad in the garb of ordinary people. They have their trials. They toil and work and suffer. Their crops fail, fires burn them out, slanders cut into their souls, death enters their homes and takes their loved ones. As far as the natural eye can discern, they wear no crown, and their heads are never encircled with a halo of light. They rule no realm save the hearts of the people. This, after all, is the everlasting kingdom.

These saints, these princes, like the king’s daughters of old, are all radiant within. Their hearts are full of faith in God. Their feet are treading the highway of holiness; while their heads are full of plans for the good of others and their hands busy carrying them out to the betterment of humanity. We do not call them saints. We do not see the glory on their brows; but God, who sees the heart, sees the honesty of purpose, the love for the suffering, the sympathy, justice—all the beautiful graces of Christian character, He sees them patient in trial, strong under temptation, noble in helpfulness to their fellow creatures, generous to orphanage. He hears their wise counsel in political circles, hears their trembling prayers, listens to their cries of sorrow, and hears their song of triumph over sin. Truly blessed is the man whose hands are outstretched to the needy, whose eyes are turned upward to God, whose heart is ever open to the sorrowing. Our prince not only *acted* but *gave* royally, as the

orphans of our city can gladly testify. In the darkest hour in the history of the Benevolent Home, he came to the rescue, and with his influence aided in securing, through the County Commissioner's Court, \$100 monthly, to be applied to food, clothing and mothering the helpless and homeless waifs of Tarrant County. Surely he heard the still, small voice that Elijah heard, saying, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my little ones, ye have done it unto me." "He that giveth to the poor, lendeth to the Lord."

This prince of whom we speak was a great man, measured by God's standard, not by man's petty scales. A sad day it was for our city when Judge Nugent left us to go to his reward. A kind husband and father, a wise counsellor in public affairs, a pure Christian, an all-around man, God loved him and took him to his eternal reward.

Crowned and sceptered now, the new name on his brow, the new song on his lips, he lives in one of the many mansions above, where he patiently waits the coming of his loved ones.

When Jesus, the King of all Kingdoms, died, the sun hid his face and darkness veiled the scene. So was spread over nature the veil of night when our prince died.

MRS. BELLE M. BURCHILL,  
*President of the Tarrant County Benevolent Home.*

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It will be to me a most mournful pleasure to bear testimony to the many noble and lovable qualities of Judge Nugent, whom I have for years regarded as one of the purest men and most valued and valuable citizens of Texas. Although I never enjoyed the privilege of his personal acquaintance until 1892, I had before that time known of him as a lawyer, judge and public-spirited citizen. It was at the time that I took charge of his campaign as candidate for the office of Governor of Texas, that I met him personally. During the summer and autumn of 1892 I was thrown frequently in his society, with



opportunities of closely observing him and studying his character, and I only do him justice when I say that the more I saw of him the more I respected and admired him. The fact is, his personality grew on those who were much in his society.

My first impression of him was that he was hardly aggressive enough to be the leader of a reform party that must assume and maintain an offensive rather than a defensive attitude before the world. He was then in feeble health, and by reason of this fact, was indisposed to very active and prolonged physical exertion. I soon discovered, however, that in a feeble body he had a strong spirit that gave to him unexpected power of endurance. I well remember that during the first sixty days of the campaign, which was not inaugurated until about the middle of August, he insisted upon being billed for speeches at not exceeding one appointment per week. And for the time it looked as if even that much party work was more than his feeble frame would bear up under. But as the campaign progressed he rose to the demands of the situation, and week by week developed more and more strength, until during the month of October he was filling appointments nearly every day. And I mention now the remarkable fact, that during the last weeks of the campaign he spoke every day, and some days made two speeches. If he had been sustained by the belief that he was going to be elected, it would not have been so remarkable; but, as a matter of fact, he realized long before election day that he was leading a forlorn hope. His party was a new one, with little organization to begin with, and it lacked that confidence in its own cohesive power and strength that only years of co-operative work can bring to a party; and Judge Nugent, who was frequently at party headquarters, was kept advised as to the party's prospects. He saw disintegration going on as the result of the bitter contest then being waged over the State by the Hogg and Clark factions of the Democratic party, and the natural tendency of his own followers to re-identify themselves with one or the other of said factions, from which they had come to the People's party. I would not have been surprised had he weakened in spirit under such adverse conditions; but there were no such evidences. On

the contrary, as the necessity for efforts being made to hold his party in line developed, his spirit rose to it, and I shall never forget how grandly he kept up the struggle in the face of inevitable defeat. Most men can fight vigorously and effectively when they feel that their efforts are going to be crowned with victory; but how few are capable of really heroic efforts when no such incentive is urging them? Judge Nugent, however, did have an incentive to effort—the consciousness that no fight entirely for principle can ever be absolutely unavailing. He knew that he could not be elected Governor of Texas in 1892; but he also knew that the battle of 1892 was only the initiatory skirmish which was to bring on and develop the grand, glorious battle for human rights that is yet being fought in the United States. He frequently discussed this thought with me and with others about our party headquarters; and though success in a party sense was not then in sight, he insisted that it would yet be secured. He has not lived to see it, and to share in its results, but if it is vouchsafed to him in the next world to keep in touch with the events that are maturing in this, he sees now in a stronger light than living mortals can enjoy, that his great work in 1892 and in 1894, when he again led the fight in Texas, is to be crowned with a glorious victory.

In the formative period of new political parties there has always been an element of weakness to which attention cannot be too often called; men with hobbies who have failed of recognition in the older parties, and who have seized on any sort of political agitation to further their own views, have frequently been able to assume the leadership of the different branches of the party; and the People's party bears no exception to the rule. While no new party in this country has ever had so large a percentage of conservative, unselfish and zealous leaders, it has had to contend with the usual number of cranks.

Judge Nugent was essentially a conservative man and the very reverse of a crank. And to this fact I attribute largely the further fact, that as the People's party of Texas developed, conservatism became one of its marked characteristics. He strongly impressed his individuality upon its character; and to-day it stands well to the front as the best representative on this continent of well-balanced conservatism and zealous

patriotism, with but little, if any, of the impetuosity and want of morale that so often characterizes new political organizations. I congratulate the party that it had for its leader for so many years, one so fully up to the demands of the times as Judge Nugent was. I congratulate the people of Texas generally that the party which, as all things seem to indicate, is soon to assume control of their governmental interests had its first and best inspirations from one so competent to give them.

Judge Nugent, while not dogmatic in his views, was tenacious of them, and had a quiet way of impressing them on others that indicated the latent strength of his character. He did not jump at conclusions, but reached them as the result of careful, painstaking search for them; and he was rarely at fault in them. Hence it is, he did not yield them readily at the suggestion of even his most trusted party friends and associates. More than this, he had the courage of his convictions; and the Populists of Texas, who have been most closely identified with the party work and with him as one of its workers, will not soon forget that he did not permit his personal friendships to come between him and his duty to his party, which he held to be synonymous with his duty to his state and his nation. If the party is to-day well grounded on the eternal principles that should constitute the true basis for civil government, no one has been more instrumental than he in putting it in so advantageous a position. Yet he was in no sense of the term, a practical politician. I believe I never knew a man so active in party politics who cared, or thought, less of methods than he. With him, the grand central thought was: "Is the measure proposed right? And does it promise good to the people?" If his judgment and heart answered in the affirmative, that settled the policy of the party as far as he could control it; but if, on the other hand, he determined that it was not right, I am convinced that no power on earth could have influenced him to advocate it.

Though inclined to "call a spade a spade," Judge Nugent was not given to the use of harsh language. No one, I venture to say, ever heard him give utterance to a word that could not have been said with propriety in the presence of any pure woman. He abhorred anything like profanity, and his detes-

tation of obscenity, even by implication, was deep-rooted and pronounced. His habit of indulging in kindly language was due to the fact that he felt kindly toward all and wished them the best things attainable. It would have been doing violence to his own feelings had he indulged in uncharitable remarks about any one. Indeed, it may be said of him, "He loved his fellowmen."

H. L. BENTLEY.

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A man of modern times, in equipoise of all his faculties and functions, mental and moral, has never been more perfect than was manifest and existing in fact in the personality of the late Thomas L. Nugent.

There were those who were closer to him, in near friendship, and more intimate with him, in the inner social life, than I, but I knew him in many and important relations of life.

I knew him when he was comparatively young, as a school teacher, in the city of Austin. My own sons were instructed by him. Taking his character from them, supplemented by my own knowledge of him, he, then, was a man who drew to himself the love and confidence of others, the mature and the young, as naturally and abundantly as the dews descend from heaven.

I knew him as a lawyer. He was ever ready, courteous and guided by the highest and purest ethics of the profession. Doubt or distrust of his honor, good faith and perfect loyalty, to the law and to his clients, was never connected with his name.

I knew him as a public man, put forward (and leadership was natural to him), to represent the reform movement, looking to the good of the whole country—of all men, but more particularly to lift the burdens and oppressions from the shoulders of the great common people. In that relation, he was indeed a father, a general and a guide, who had the love, admiration and almost the veneration of those who looked to him and his brave co-adjutors, for deliverance.

I knew him as a Judge—he was impartial and just. He was an honest Judge. He tempered the rigor of the law with

mercy, at all times, when the performance of his duty would allow.

I knew him as a Christian gentlemen. He loved God and obeyed his commandments, as nearly as the frailties of humanity would permit.

I knew him as a man. He loved his fellow men, sympathized with all human suffering, befriended the weak and friendless and restrained the evil passions of the strong where he had the influence or power.

I have known him, when surrounded by the most exasperating circumstances, which, with ordinary men, call forth outbreaks of temper and even actual violence, to stand calm, dignified, deliberate and let the waves of wrong-doing beat themselves into quiet.

Conservatism and wisdom governed him, and they made of him a model, which, patterned after by the generation now going into maturity, would change the face of society and elevate the tone of mankind.

He was my friend and I loved him and now revere his memory. His life and character have been and are a benediction to me.

W. M. WALTON.

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"THOUGH DEAD, YET HE LIVETH."

To the history of our great State, replete with the deeds of martyrs, who have planted in agony of soul and with their lives the seeds from which posterity shall reap the harvest of a better time, and glowing with tributes to her patriots before whom the world bows in homage, is being added to-day a new page, bearing the name of a statesman than whom none can claim a nobler heritage in the annals of fame. As seen in the home, the daily walk, upon the rostrum, the high and fine impulses of a great soul have made the name of Thomas L. Nugent a household word—a synonym of love.

But few become positive forces in moulding civilization. Few are able to influence and contribute to the development of our national and individual life as did this great character we are called upon to mourn. With unflinching courage and single-

ness of purpose, this apostle of liberty marched on to "duty," and his life has erected in the hearts of his countrymen a monument to his own memory. No sculptured marble is needed to blazon his name. A mighty throng of workers whom he has left behind are living monuments of it, and they are sending his influence through the sociology of the present in which works the leaven that is to mould the glad to-morrow of a free and happy people. We are consoled to know that this eminent servant of the truth stood not alone in his work for humanity, for one worthy the place was a co-worker at his side. It is consoling to know that they were spared to see some of the principles to which they were devoted established. The domestic life of this couple, whose standard was that of absolute equality of husband and wife, was an exquisite song, a veritable love poem, fraught with the sweetness and tenderness of an ideal union, whose rhythmic chords were not calculated to beat in harmony with the order of domestic infelicity in which the man is the ruler, the woman the subject.

Love, honor and gratitude are the responsive impulses which this gracious memory inspires. His death has touched our hearts with a feeling of individual loss. We cannot better serve and cherish the name of our noble leader than to clasp hands and work to bring to victory the cause he loved so well; for he is with us in spirit and in memory to cheer us on in the divine work of lifting men and women into right relations with each other and with God.

ALICE McANULTY.

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Mr. Rhodes, of Van Zandt, placed in nomination the Hon. T. L. Nugent, of Fort Worth. He spoke as follows:

"It is with a great deal of pleasure that I rise to place in nomination a candidate for the United States Senate who I believe to be worthy of the highest office within the gift of the house, and who is the peer of any man in our beloved state. He is a man whose name has become a household word in this state and a man who has risen above the conditions which environ his life. His life is as pure as the driven snow; a man in whom his

political enemies repose the utmost confidence, one of God's noblemen whose life work has been to raise the fallen, to lift the yoke from the neck of the oppressed, to extend a helping hand to the downtrodden, to encourage those without hope and to plead the cause of the disinherited millions of the earth. Injustice he opposed, poverty he sought to alleviate, the helpless he strove to protect. He has never asked the question whether his course was popular or not, but like the brave and courageous man that he is, he has espoused the cause of the victims of injustice and carried the fight into the camp of the enemy. For four years he has been leader of the minority, and when defeat stared him in the face has breasted the storm of a brutal majority and fought for what he believed to be right. In this state he has been the Moses of those who cherish a better hope, and from the field and workshop have come forth 160,000 brave spirits who cast their votes for him, believing in his honesty and integrity as a statesman, patriot and philosopher. While I know he is in the minority in this house and that political prejudice and party will cause his defeat, the minority have the consolation to know that when their vote is cast for him we do so in the interests of those who suffer from injustice and legalized robbery, in the interests of the producing classes, among whom is ever found patriotism and virtue. The man of whom I speak is not only a credit to the minority, but he is a credit to the State of Texas, and one whom the people may be proud of irrespective of his political affiliations. Should he be elected to the Senate of the United States I feel assured that he will never forsake the principles which he has carried on his banner before the people of Texas. We are assured that the glitter of wealth nor the storms of time can move him from these principles which he advocates for the temporal redemption of the race. In these days of concentrated wealth, heartless monopolies that possess no souls and no responsibilities in eternity, when the lamentations and tears of the great common people, the sheet anchor of our civilization, come up from every industrial center of the republic, it is meet that those should be entrusted with position who love and sympathize with the unfortunate masses and who believe in no special privileges but

in giving justice to all, to every citizen his own. But there must be martyrs for every great cause.

“While humanity sweeps onward,  
 While to the martyr’s strand  
 Tomorrow crouches Judas  
 With the silver in his hand,  
 While in the distant future  
 The cross stands ready  
 And the crackling faggots burn,  
 The hooting mob of yesterday  
 In silent awe return  
 To glean up the sacred ashes  
 Into history’s golden urn.”

But this man represents a cause that neither the wealth of corporate kings nor heartless opposition of modern Shylocks can overthrow. It is like the breaking loose of pent up waters and there floats upon the current of this great movement, represented by this man, 160,000 thinking and toiling sovereigns. It may be truly said of him that he is the sage of Texas and one of the greatest political philosophers of modern times, who possesses the courage to lay ambition upon poverty’s altar and make a political sacrifice for the good of his fellow man. The cause he represents shall never perish from the earth but be a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to lead the race out of its political thralldom, and the footprints of time will record its progress until ultimate success shall crown the efforts of such men as I present to this house as a candidate for the United States Senate. Year after year may take its flight, century after century may pass into oblivion, but populist principles will never perish, and in the years to come they will be a proud monument to the glory of him who has stood steadfast and fought heartless oppression. Gentlemen, this man is no other than the Hon. T. L. Nugent, of Tarrant County, whom I now place in nomination for the United States Senate.”—*Dallas News*.



## ANECDOTES AND REMINISCENCES.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, February 28, 1896.

On a balmy June day in 1886, I found myself a passenger aboard an old, ramshackle vehicle called the "Palo Pinto stage." After various and sundry packages had found safe stowaway beneath seat and in boot, the lash was plied upon two Texas bronchos—our motive power—and we were fast receding from the screech and scream of the energy pulsating along one of the arteries of modern commerce. For fifteen miles our way lay o'er hill and valley. Suddenly there burst upon the vision Palo Pinto's capital, nestling close to the sides of the mountains that stand with Sphinx like countenances as watchful monitors of the little valley at their feet. The quaint old village was suggestive of indolence and loquacity. The purpling smoke that curled from the chimney tops freighted the air with the fragrance of burning cedar. Hill and vale were garnished with its ever-green foliage. The sluggish Brazos, channelling its pathway through mountain fastness and sandy lowland, reached out its sinuous arms as if to enfold in its amorous embrace the sleepy village.

The wily villagers, as the iron arm of advancing civilization pushing its westward course was forced by natural causes to deflect from their peaceful valley, apprehensive of the future, hastened to build a temple of justice out of due proportion to the demands of the people, trusting that through its instrumentality their ancient glory might still abide with them and not depart to ambitious rivals. The subject of this sketch was the ministering priest of this pretentious temple and presided at its altar. Nugent was then a stranger to me. My partner and I had a case of great importance pending before him and, naturally, I wished to see and form the acquaintance of the man who would soon preside over its destiny. I entered the

inner court of the temple to find a man of a mild face, of a pre-eminent mental temperament, possessed of a rare dome of thought, blue-grey eyes, a firm mouth, strong chin, large veneration and an abundance of spirituality. An introduction followed. The kindly grasp of the hand reassured me and I felt that I had read him right. I then knew that the scales of justice would be nicely balanced and poised by a master hand.

We had awakened the slumbering ire of the villagers by the levy of a writ of attachment upon the merchandise of a fellow-citizen and were justly apprehensive of results. Our case was finally reached and entered upon. Against us were pitted some of the ablest lawyers of the Judge's district, as well as others. The pleadings were voluminous, and the issue in many respects intricate. In the disposition of the preliminary questions and the issues of law, the ease and certainty with which Judge Nugent made his rulings impressed me—then a comparatively young man—profoundly with the depth of his mind and the sweep of his comprehension. Questions of moment were disposed of by him without apparent effort, upon mere suggestion.

The second place of chief importance in the little village was the tavern where congregated the officers of Court, the traveling lawyers, the village doctor and the village wit and beauty. It was rudely constructed though most hospitable. Its table was generously burthened with good cheer and around it gathered this coterie. It was the Judge's invariable custom after the evening repast to rest the physical, and recuperate the mental, man by a tramp of more or less extended length. Never selfish, he usually invited some of the lawyers to accompany him. It was my good fortune always to be embraced in this invitation. The mellow atmosphere of the summer evenings perfumed with the breath of cedar seemed to render us more congenial. I soon found him a kindred spirit, broad and liberal in his notions and a profound student of nature. Our trial lasted for nearly a week and was terminated to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned. The contest was sharp, the issues weighty, and the testimony of that character calculated to arouse the controversial spirit; yet, amidst all the conflict, Nugent sat serene and unruffled, and, by his gentle admonitions and repressive suggestions, all parties, lawyers, princi-

pals and witnesses, maintained gentlemanly and considerate relations toward each other. I found him very different from the ordinary administrator of justice who so often, in the littleness of his imagined greatness, builds a wall around himself and digs a moat across which the lawyer may not pass, imagining that the purity of his ermine must necessarily shine the more resplendent by reason of his stilted and envired position. Questions of law arose in our case that were freely discussed with him by us on those evening rambles. I have no doubt but that in the hush and quiet of the evening, when our minds were placid and receptive, we solved the questions much more accurately than we could have done during the heat and contest of debate. This was the beginning of an acquaintance that lasted and ripened, during which I frequently found him discussing questions of law with the lawyers who had charge of cases to be tried before him. Speaking of this matter, on one occasion he said to me, "I have never hesitated to discuss matters of law with the lawyers in the cases that I try. Some judges imagine that it is a breach of ethics, on the contrary, I believe it is right, and I have never hesitated to avail myself of whatever information and learning they possess. It is but natural that their minds are actively engaged in thought on their cases, that they have investigated more or less, and from whom should I receive so much information as from them, and how could I better assimilate it than to have had it in mind and thought over it myself? I never felt that I was susceptible to bias from such discussion, and I know that on many occasions both lawyers and myself received new ideas and better applied the propositions of law."

Our friendship drew closer with the lapse of time and finally culminated in a professional partnership when Judge Nugent came to Fort Worth in 1891. It is the humble opinion of the writer, after long personal relation with Judge Nugent, and after having been associated with him in the discussion and trial of important cases, that he had no equal as a lawyer in the state at the time of his death. As a trial judge, the writer has never had the opportunity of witnessing his superior. To the bar, to the litigants, to the witnesses and the jurors, he was ever courteous, gentlemanly and kind. The younger members

of the bar that grew up, so to speak, in Nugent's district hold him in the kindest remembrance. While never swerving from the path of duty as judge, he carefully protected them from the superiority of their elder adversaries. Many a new trial was granted by him in order to save the rights of some litigant too trustful and confiding in the ability of his youthful advocate.

Judge Nugent was a master of the English language. His splendid education and natural endowments of language and logic fitted him to perform with distinguished ability the onerous task that falls to the lot of a trial judge; a task that so few are able to perform—the clear separation of the law from the facts on the trial of a case, and the intelligent presentation to the jury of the law so separated from the facts as to enable it to understandingly determine the issue.

His charges are models of English composition. He was as incapable of committing an error in grammar as an error in logic. Nature had given him that mechanical turn of mind that made his writing as beautiful as copper-plate.

In recognition of the masterly ability of Judge Nugent, the beauty of his style and the clear analysis of his propositions, Judge Thompson, in his great work on Trials, quotes two of his charges as models. The compliment was a graceful one in view of the fact that they were strangers to each other save as kindred spirits. So far as the writer knows, no other trial judge was so dignified by that eminent commentator. As a lawyer and a judge, Judge Nugent closely approached greatness in its true sense. His clear mind went unerringly to the point in every case. He knew no cross cuts. There was nothing little in his mind and in his conduct toward his brothers. He was a stranger to the so-called tricks and quirks of the law. To him the law was the embodiment of human wisdom, the crystallized experience of the ages adapted to the government and regulation of human affairs. To him it was a beautiful priestess endowed with infinite wisdom, whose righteous judgments were rendered with parsimonious hand, and he a simple minister in the temple, yielding the oil of his wisdom upon the shrine of its accomplishment. In the forensic conflict, he was a tower of strength to the side he championed.

His splendid qualities of mind shone most brilliantly in a legal argument. His logic was often too powerful and subtle for a jury, yet juries followed him, because they believed in his personality, because they believed in his integrity, and because they knew that Judge Nugent never lent himself, professionally or otherwise, to the perpetration of a wrong. To a witness who sought to tell the truth, he was kind and gentle, but to one who faltered he was as fierce as a Damascus blade wielded by desert Bedouin.

Nugent's qualifications and natural endowments fitted him in an eminent degree to have adorned the bench of last resort. His ambition led him thitherward, but political harlotry was the biting frost that nipped ambition's flower. Had his laudable ambition been gratified, the luster of the bench would have been richer, but humanity would have been poorer. Destiny had purposed him as the instrument to perform a grander and nobler work than simply to deal in the narrow analysis of dry precedent. Nature had fitted him for a nobler office and did not intend to be thwarted in her design.

Judge Nugent recognized in an eminent degree that primal law of nature, "the survival of the fittest." He recognized that much of so-called genius is the ability of labor, the result of careful and conscientious effort. He was a student in the broad and comprehensive sense of the term. The light of his splendid intellect was not turned solely upon the too often considered dull and lifeless pages of the law. He recognized that the law is simply the outgrowth, the crystallization of human effort, yet ill-fitted to meet the needs and varying conditions of humanity. He recognized most abundantly, that in the universality of its application it is painfully deficient and imperfect to reach individual cases; yet he treated it as a jealous mistress, yielded assiduous labor and investigation to its ministrations, and contributed his quota of experience and effort to its perfection and adaptation to human needs. The law was more than a means of subsistence to him. It was a science which he endeavored to harmonize with the philosophy of life, with the intellectual development of the people upon whom it should bear. His studious nature embraced every domain of human thought. Life, its origin, growth and devel-

opment, challenged his closest investigation and warmest admiration. As a student of nature he drank deep from her perennial springs, penetrated her inmost recesses in investigation and thought, recognized himself as her kinsman and but the expression of her unvarying and inevitable laws and builded all the philosophy of life upon the theory of her evolutionary processes. He was naturally a philosopher and as such he as naturally and as inevitably grew out of the thrall of the narrow conformist to creedal theology with which his early mind was tethered, as the ungainly grub evolves into the beautiful winged insect, kissing the shimmering rays of the glittering summer sun with its tinted spots of radiant beauty. And never did sportive bird or soaring eagle revel in untrammelled freedom more than did Judge Nugent when the shackles were loosed and the pinions of his soul fluttered in the magnificent sweep of mental liberty. He worshipped at the shrine of the pure, the beautiful and the noble. He believed in the brotherhood of humanity. He paused in wondering admiration at nature and nature's God, in the contemplation of the human ego, that mysterious entity that thinks.

In the latter days of his life, he adopted the golden rule as the highest type of human action and as the noblest sentiment ever uttered by God or man. His belief in the indestructibility of all life, and necessarily in the immortality of the human soul, was unyielding. In his domestic life, the sweetness and purity of his nature found its highest expression. In his social intercourse with other men he treated them as brothers—as though each were struggling for the attainment of a higher ideal. Of the arts of money-making he knew but little. The loftiness of his character and the purity of life which I vainly try to depict and the accumulation of money are incongruous elements. The quickness of his enlightened and cultured conscience led him to profoundly sympathize with the envired condition of his fellows that enabled some at the expense of the many to absorb to their selfish natures the product and toil of the o'erlabored. He felt their burthens and was weighted down with their sorrows. The cold waves of selfishness and sordid greed beat upon his tender and sensitive nature until it burst the prison bars of conservatism, and

forced, against his personal desires, he espoused the cause of the oppressed and gave it dignity by his splendid leadership. He rent the lacings of partisan Democracy, because, in his opinion, it had degenerated into an organized oligarchy—into a machine for the personal and political aggrandizement of the few and for the sacrifice of the rights and liberties of the people to the god of mammon and corruption. Many of what may be called the Utopian visions of the Populist party he did not subscribe to, but it was a revolt against so-called Democracy—against organized institutions. It was a protest that swept the political atmosphere with the mightiness of a cyclone. It threatened the dismemberment of parties, aroused and quickened the laggard and awakened the American people to the danger of their liberties. As a canvasser, during two campaigns he had no equal. None of the opposite political faith dared draw a sword with the great reformer in open field. Nugent strode forth in the might of his convictions like the panoplied knight in defense of fireside, country and liberty. Never was the cringing hypocrisy of political marplots so pilloried, so unmasked, so impaled. The highest encomium that can be paid him is, that during those memorable contests no single attack was made upon his private character. Not that the malevolent spirit was absent in his adversaries, but that there was no crevice where it could find entrance.

Judge Nugent was a worshiper of truth alone. He knew she is many sided and can only be discovered by patient effort. He knew she is elusive, even to her devotees, and that he who would be her apostle must fall into the pitfalls of error and tread the wine press of disappointment, as well as be the recipient of the derisive sneer of the self-righteous. He knew that in the discovery of her regal beauties the swamps of superstition have to be penetrated, the noxious miasms of bigotry have to be fearlessly assaulted in their turreted citadels with her spear and shield. He knew that falsehood often snatches a garland from the brow of truth and masquerades as her embodiment. He knew that error stalks abroad assuming her guise and deceiving the unwary wight. He knew that so feeble and flickering is the flame that burns on the altar of truth to human comprehension that it requires a hero to

be her champion, and such was he. Convinced of a truth, he was as gentle as a woman in its assertion, but as firm as adamant in his conviction. The winds of superstition and error might blow mighty blasts, might hurl mighty anathemas at her queenly shrine; but Nugent, like the cedars of Lebanon, stood rooted in the rock of honest conviction. He knew that his experience had garnered a fruitage fragrant with the sweet breath of Spring, golden with the kisses of mid-summer and purpled with the tints of ripening Autumn. He knew that in the web and woof of his soul he had woven the rippling laughter of children, the smiles of women and the applause of his countrymen.

Nugent died as he lived, a man. He approached his dissolution with the confidence of a child resting upon its mother's bosom. He knew it was a simple result of natural law—a rounding of the bend heavenward on the river of life; that the finger that had written upon the face of all nature "progression" had likewise traced that talismanic word upon his soul; that

"Dust thou art, to dust returnest,  
Was not written of the soul."

In the darkness of our loss has arisen the resplendent soul, luminous in the refulgence of its glory, freighted with the needs of humanity, tireless in the opening domain of its enlarged possibilities, and swift to continue the wage of battle so boldly gauged.

The world is better that he lived, society poorer that we have not his daily example, life more hopeful and trustful in nature's divine laws. Peace to his ashes!

JOHN W. WRAY.

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It is difficult to say anything that will convey to the minds of those who never knew Judge Nugent personally, an adequate idea of his true worth and his patriotism and love for the great common people. During our acquaintance, it was my fortune to spend many pleasant and profitable hours in private conversation with that great and good man. I never knew him to



speaking evil of any one without prefacing or amending his remarks by, "I hope I am misinformed." I have sat for hours and listened to him pouring out his soul in pleadings for humanity.

Enthusiastic writers have heralded to the world thousands of men who were pigmies in intellect, in manhood and in nobleness of spirit when compared with the subject of this sketch. The world has its Cromwells, its Emmetts, its Washingtons, and its Lincolns. By their deeds they revolutionized, destroyed and built empires, kingdoms and republics. Thomas L. Nugent did none of these things in his lifetime; yet his great and indomitable spirit still goes marching on, moulding and shaping the destinies of his countrymen. He is dead, yet liveth in the hearts and minds of the people. He devoted his life to their cause. He lived his own life out for them. I have often heard him remark, with his great soul beaming through his eyes, "If I could secure for the common people equal rights and privileges at Nature's storehouse, and leave them as happy and contented as common justice would dictate, by giving up my life, I would cheerfully do it."

The great end of government, he always claimed, is to repress all wrong; and its highest function is to protect the weak against the powerful; so that the most obscure human being may enjoy the products of his labor in peace. He believed that every man, not only has a right but it is his *duty*, to exercise his intellect; and he believed that a government, or corporation, or individual that obstructs or quenches the intellectual life of another commits a crime and inflicts a grievous and irreparable wrong. He believed that every man has a right to use the means given by God and sanctioned by virtue, for bettering his condition and being respected according to his moral worth—a right to be regarded as a member of the community to which he belongs, and to be protected by impartial laws—a right to be exempted from coercion and punishment as long as he respects the rights of others.

One afternoon during the campaign of 1894, Judge Nugent called at my office to talk over the outlook. I saw at once there was a heavy burden on his mind. He had just returned from a campaign tour. Speaking of the election frauds and

injustice done the people by demagogues and political tricksters, his very soul seemed on fire and his eyes sparkled with earnestness as he spoke like one inspired. I never saw so much feeling, clothed as it were with words and thrown into language, as fell from his lips on that occasion. He walked the floor as he talked and all present were visibly affected. I cannot quote his exact language, but what he said and the way he said it made a lasting impression upon my mind. It was about this:

“What are human rights? They may all be comprised in the right which belongs to every rational being—the right to exercise his powers for the promotion of his own and others’ happiness and virtue. This is the great fundamental purpose of his existence. For this his powers are given him, and to this he is bound to devote them. He is bound to make himself and others better and happier, according to his ability. His ability for the work is a sacred trust from God—the greatest of all trusts. He alone must answer for the waste or abuse of it. He, consequently, who is stripped of it by others, or is forbidden to employ it for the end for which it was given—when the powers which God has given for such generous uses are impaired or destroyed by others, or the means for their action and growth are forcibly withheld—suffers an unspeakable wrong.

As every human being is bound to employ his faculties for his own and others’ good, there is an obligation on each to leave all free for the accomplishment of this end; and whoever respects this obligation, who ever uses his own without invading others’ duties, has a sacred, indefeasible right to be unassailed, unobstructed, and unharmed by all with whom he may be connected.”

Resuming his seat, he pulled his chair up to the front of his small but appreciative audience, and throwing his whole soul into his remarks, said: “Gentlemen, here is the grand, all-comprehending right of human nature. Every man should revere it, should assert it for himself and for all, and should bear solemn testimony against every infraction of it, by whomsoever made or endured.”

The hearts of the great common people, knowing his unselfish and gentle spirit, realized what a friend they had in Judge Nugent. He lived for them, he sacrificed his life for them. He

studied the problem of human rights from every standpoint. He placed labor and capital, the corporation and the individual, side by side, and declared boldly what his conscience dictated as equity. He was not a politician and never allowed policy to come between himself and right. He was a Populist in the true sense of the word. He was a people's man. Sometimes in his speeches he would utter a thought in advance of the times, but would always add, "That is Thomas L. Nugent," that it might not be charged to the party.

Judge Nugent had devoted so much of his time to the study of economic questions and had weighed with such a careful mind and considerate heart the conditions of the people, that he had outstripped his fellowmen and was living far beyond his age which could not reach out and keep pace with his great and anxious soul in the battle for humanity that he was so bravely fighting. Shortly before his last illness, he was present at a meeting of the State Executive Committee of the People's party and made a talk of twenty minutes. He spoke with wonderful power. All present, who had frequently heard him, declared it the best effort of his life. Some of his remarks were criticised, yet, in a few months, conditions adjusted themselves to the point he made in that brief talk, demonstrating that he was not only a statesman, but a prophet.

The Judge was as modest as he was great and would never permit any one to call him a leader. He always said that he never aspired to anything higher than to be one of the people, and to be used for the good of all. He was the same gentle, unassuming man abroad and at home. He came as near living up to the Golden Rule as is possible in this life, and his dying words, "I have tried to do my duty," were as true as ever uttered by mortal man. He did not live in nor for the present alone. He believed that every life has a Divine mission.

In 1883, while on the bench, he wrote his wife from Palo Pinto, and after enumerating some of the privations he had to undergo in that Western country, he said :

"After all, though, what matters it? These privations but remind us that human life has something more in it than meat and drink. The use of life need not fail even though its attainment be attended with severe and even crucifying disci-

pline. The court-room is my field—judicial functions the form through which Divine Providence operates my use. Here my true life must expend itself, with such incidental and less obtrusive well-doing as opportunity may suggest.”

Judge Nugent was not what is termed an orthodox church man; but he was a religious man, deeply pious. He lived his religion, and made very little noise about it. Yet no one loved more than he did to talk about spiritual matters. An extract from a letter written to his wife in 1883 on this subject will give an idea of the stress he placed upon it.

“How little men know of each other until brought face to face in the affairs of life. Then they realize that the differences of belief do not separate them half so widely as they are wont to imagine. The light of eternity, when it dissipates our mental darkness, will show us plainly the common ground upon which we all stand; and this thought should strengthen us in the determination to cultivate more carefully and largely the sympathies which underlie our common nature, and thus deepen and broaden the sense of brotherhood which men feel for one another when they are made to realize the struggle which the age is bringing upon them. How much better to do this, while this world offers its opportunities of ultimate usefulness. Truly, if the natural sphere is the seminary or nursery of the spiritual, the good we do here must yield us the larger dividends of spiritual and heavenly gain—that is, the sense of increased capacity for usefulness hereafter. How simple all this seems to the instructed mind, and yet to the modern Greek it is but foolishness. “The Jew, even in this age, seeks after a sign, and the Greek seeks after wisdom; but yet, there are those who by their walk and conversation preach Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God.” With this last class may we be found worthy to be numbered. Of one thing, my dear wife, we may be assured—the dawning of a better state will be deferred many years. In the ripening process of the regenerate life, all perverted states of the selfhood must vanish and recede, and if we are but faithful the flying years will soon bring us to the opening portals of the interior world. How earnestly do I hope and pray that we may both stand together on the sunny slope of that world, redeemed into higher and holier usefulness through the humble uses of the present life.”

In 1881, he writes from Hamilton, Texas, as follows:

“Others may build up the things of this world, but the lessons of our lives teach us that we have indeed no abiding city

here. How rapidly we are passing the end we may not fully realize. To know, then, what the Lord's will is, and to do it, should be the chief purpose of our lives. Together let us overcome our evils and together rise in the spiritual life until the former purpose shall be fully wrought out, and in the latter life, if it pleases God to so order it, we shall find a more congenial and a more glorious field for our great work of usefulness. Surely we can help each other in the work we have to do. Let us then by the Lord's help put away all hindrances to our work, and with resolute cheerful spirits endeavor to make our lives what God willeth they should be, vitally consecrated to useful and humane ends.

A more noble sentiment and one more worthy of emulation, was never uttered by man, and Judge Wigham loved it as well his public and private life. Had he been as devoted to church doctrine as he was to the principles of religion as taught by Christ; had he been elevated to the highest position in the gift of the people, all the honors that church and state could have heaped upon him, would have been as "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal" as compared with his noble and useful life. His dying words, "I have tried to do my duty," will go sounding down the corridors of time till equity is established between man and man.

L. CALVERT.

#### MRS. T. L. STUBBS.

*And Remembered Friends*—There is hard something agonizing and remembrance of your late lamented husband. In reply, let me assure you that his untimely taking was not only a very severe shock to which you lost a loving husband and the children a brave and noble father, but an almost irreparable loss to the state and the nation as well.

A true heart never beats in the breast of living man. A true spirit was never known to rise in defence of human rights and liberties. What the teaching of a Phillips, a Garrison or a Jefferson, and what a love like that of the noble Wigham who was crucified on the cross and raged cross between two wicked sons of man, he rose above the conditions that crucify the lives of most men, and with a heroism that was unsurpassed and a courage that knew no bounds, stepped from

a position of comfort, ease and plenty to become an apostle to the disinherited and disfranchised of God's creatures.

He, truly, sacrificed his life upon his country's altar that this world might be made a fit habitation for man. "To know him, was to love him." His noble life, his sublime character, his self-sacrificing devotion to the poor and weak were those of one who might truly be called a philosopher, who struck rudely with Ithureal's spear and pointed to the world as he showed, beneath the scabs of society, its reeking mass of rottenness. He regarded the plutocrat as a high priest of greed and the pauper as the devotee and victim of a foolish superstition.

In trying to describe such a character, I find that my intellectuality is paralyzed by the wonderful depth and breadth of my subject, and I find that I am wholly unfit for such an undertaking.

My first acquaintance with Judge Nugent was at the State Convention of the Populists in 1892, when he had crossed the Rubicon and was the Blucher to the Democratic hosts. After that I was with him often, always glad to meet him, and sorry when the hour of parting came.

During the session of the Twenty-fourth Legislature, I had a chance to study Judge Nugent. He was with us on several occasions during the session, and his counsel was always of such a convincing nature and consisted of such diamonds of truth and jewels of originality, that we sought him for advice and sat speechless under the sound of that sweet voice, enchanted by his wonderful intellectuality. To-day I have in my possession some amendments to a bill known as the Election Law Bill, which were drafted by Judge Nugent. The bill, as introduced in the Legislature, was characterized by Judge Nugent as "a measure that would destroy a free ballot and a fair count and perpetuate the Democratic party in power in Texas."

The last time I was in the company of our distinguished leader was at the last Populist State Executive Committee meeting in Fort Worth, when the question of dropping out some planks of the Populist platform was under discussion. He arose, and, with the eloquence of a Demosthenes, the earn-

estness, the zeal and the learning of a Pericles or a Homer, made the greatest speech it was ever my pleasure to hear. I think it was the ablest effort of his life. I can see him now, speaking with that earnestness and zeal which was so characteristic of his nature. Though he can be with us no more, that speech will never die. It sank deep into the hearts of the hearers and will aid us in our paths of duty, and go ringing down through the corridors of time. He touched a chord that vibrates throughout the world, and will be iterated and reiterated until poverty and crime, misery and social death will be no more; no tears, no thorns, no night, no injustice, but roseate hours are linked to Momi's car and, mid the ceaseless melodies of field and stream and air, the children of fantastic scenes will glide immortally into perpetual day.

L. L. RHODES.

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In the Spring of 1879 I first became acquainted with Judge Thomas L. Nugent, then presiding at Stephenville, Erath County, Texas. At that time the town was full of people, bearing evidence of some extraordinary proceeding going on in the court room. An investigation developed the fact that a party charged with murder was there to make application for a writ of habeas corpus, through which he hoped to secure bail. Every look of the spectators, every word from the bystanders showed conclusively that there was great prejudice against the prisoner at the bar. Threats of lynching were frequently made, and, from the many mutterings escaping the lips of an outraged community, it seemed the prisoner had public opinion to contend against on every side. While the sheriff and his deputies and the friends of the trembling prisoner kept close watch, his counsel read the petition for the writ, to which the sheriff replied, "The prisoner is now before the Court." The Judge, to all appearance, was the only man in the court room who seemed to realize that justice and not a man charged with murder was on trial. When the evidence had been heard, both for the state and the petitioner, contrary to the wishes of the friends of the deceased and contrary to the expectations of the excited spectators, Judge Nugent was able to rise above per-

sonal feelings and above public opinion and grant the prisoner bail. His action was as much a surprise to many as it was eminently just to the prisoner. The conduct of Judge Nugent on that occasion marked him as a man not only filled with a disposition to do right, but as a man having the courage of his convictions.

Not for many years afterward did I again have the pleasure of meeting this man whom all knew but to love, and when I met him again he was once more battling against the passions of the mob and lifting his voice in behalf of frail humanity. Instead of choosing a part that would bring the possessors of wealth to his rescue, help him on to opulence, wealth and power, he chose the part of the good Samaritan and sought to lift his fellowmen from the slough of despondency. Under the forms of law he had witnessed the rapid absorption of the country's wealth by corporate monopolies whose thirst for gain is insatiable. These corporations, he saw, were invading our legislative halls, both national and state, with impunity, and hesitating not to corrupt the voters, the people's representatives, and even inducing our highest courts and judges to soil the ermine of the bench. Considering their nefarious practices Judge Nugent saw that unless there was an early check put to their onward march the country would become a nation of paupers and our great republic transformed into a despotism, under the iron rule of an oligarchy. Under the circumstances there was but one course for him to take, and he was not long in making a choice. Throwing himself into the breach between capital and labor, he soon proved himself a leader of men as well as the advocate of principle. Having been selected by the plain people to lead them, he was ever ready to counsel with them and always advised patience and conservative action. Instead of trying to embitter his followers against the instruments of oppression, he sought, like the true physician, to correct the root of the evil—the law-making power. He recognized in the banks a means of successfully aiding the business interests of the country; yet he believed in limiting their privileges. He recognized in the railroads of the country an instrument which, under existing conditions is simply indispensable; yet he believed that, as the work done by them is in the nature of a



public function, they should be controlled by the only power which, under our federal constitution, has the right to regulate commerce between the states—Congress.

With a heart full of sympathy for his fellow-man, believing that the earth was created for the enjoyment of all of God's creatures, he battled even unto the end against the monopolization of land for speculative purposes. In all his public declarations he was modest, unassuming and conservative. In the court room as a lawyer he was courteous to his adversaries, yet just to his client. In all the walks of life he proved himself to be a noble man, a loyal citizen, a loving husband and a kind parent, dying as he had lived, trying "to do his duty."

S. O. MOODIE.

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STEPHENVILLE, TEXAS, Jan. 26, 1896.

MRS. THOS. L. NUGENT, Fort Worth, Texas:

*My Dear Friend*—Thinking that I, after an intimate acquaintance with your husband, Judge Nugent, extending over a period of nearly a quarter of a century, might say something about him interesting and profitable to the readers of the forthcoming book of his life, I will submit a few of the reminiscences of him which throng my mind. Neither you, nor he, if alive, would appreciate any mere personal adulation or fulsome flattery; therefore I will select a few plain matters of actual occurrence to illustrate his life and character.

Personally, I always found the Judge of such a simple, sincere and child-like disposition that he often, in his words and actions, reminded me of a sketch I once read of a certain celestial character, only at home in the Golden Age of the world yet forbearingly contending with the rough and coarse realities of an age of mixed iron and clay. He verily lived in a world or age of which he was not.

This I will illustrate by several incidents. This age seems to be one of such intense struggle and competition that it is, seemingly, impossible for a man to live without making all he can, out of whom he can, provided he keep himself in the usual course of trade and custom. It is well known that a common

scrub cow by being killed by a railroad suddenly acquires a strain of blood and other valuable qualities which it usually takes other processes a hundred years of breeding in, and breeding out, to attain. When the Judge left Erath to go to El Paso, he left in his old home pasture some Jersey cattle. The Fort Worth & Rio Grande railroad ran through the pasture and killed one of his best Jersey cows. In the Judge's absence, the party with whom he had left his stock of cattle, brought suit in the Judge's name and got a verdict of \$75.00 against the road. On hearing of the judgment, the Judge said that he did not think that the cow was worth more than \$50 and voluntarily had \$25 of the judgment remitted, though there was no doubt that he could have held the \$75.

So, once upon a time he had a horse for sale for which he was offered a greater price than he thought the horse was worth and let it go for a less price than he was offered.

When hired hands worked for him and did good service he invariably paid them more than the contract price. But equally, on the other hand, he always felt unwilling to pay full price for negligent and inadequate service. He believed firmly in value given for value received. Any violation of this law was painful to him.

Nothing gave him more delight than to retire from the bench when he was judge and walk about his pastures, sit on a stump or on the green sward and look at his heifers and colts. Hundreds of times I have been with him on such occasions and have seen him baptized with the spirit of God who looked upon the work of His hands and pronounced it good.

Cultured in all classic lore, at ease along the planes of higher mathematics, at home among the roots and idioms and finished phrases of ancient languages, he yet took an intense delight in going down among the simpler and more child-like states and conditions of actual life.

While on the bench, there began, here and there in the country places, a meeting together of farmers with their wives and children. These farmers would bring their dinners in boxes or baskets or buckets and under some arbor by the creek-side, or under some great oaks on the hillside, would consult and consider whether the conditions of themselves and their neigh-

bors and their farms could not be bettered. The Judge, along with his wife, took great delight in attending these meetings. It was a high and royal feast to mix with and speak to these simple folk, knowing that out of such material the Divine Providence would evolve wisdom of the highest type. There were two old men, Judge Hill and Uncle Josiah Crawford, who, on their visits to these meetings, would in passing stop and stay with the Judge. They were like brothers, open and simple as children, and always, as did others, found the Judge homelike with open doors.

I was at the Dallas convention in 1892, when Maj. Rumph and Evan Jones told the great, crowded convention of a man who, amid the post oaks of the far west, met the Alliance in open counsel and comfort in the days of its struggling infancy. The body was composed mainly of men who had sat by the rivers of Babylon with their harps hung on willows beneath which they heard the weeping of their wives and children. The mere recital of a man of judicial stature coming among them as a disinterested counselor and friend sent a thrill of power into the bosoms of this great convention and resulted in the overthrow of an over two-thirds instructed majority. In its place rolled, with solid, unbroken acclamation, a unanimous nomination for governor.

In the great canvas of 1892, all of the Gubernatorial candidates, Hogg, Clark and Nugent, on different days came to Stephenville. Both Gov. Hogg and Gen. Clark were received at the depot with brass bands and conducted to the best hotels in carriages. Nugent came, walked leisurely along, shook hands, as was his custom, even with many of his old colored neighbors, as friendly as if they were princes of royal blood. I know that this was not for any effect, but his simple, natural way. He could not help it any more than a child could help being glad to see home people on getting home.

Speaking of the colored people, some months before the Judge died, and the last time he was ever in my office, he and a well dressed and seemingly well-to-do gentleman were in friendly conversation which became somewhat animated at a point in which there is generally a good deal of animus. Both were southern born, the Judge coming of an old Louisiana

family of slave-holders and having himself seen service in the Confederate army. The gentleman remarked that if the slave-holders had been paid for their slaves it would have been nothing but justice. The Judge replied that it appeared to him that having had the services of the slaves for several generations for nothing, justice rather demanded that the slaves, rather than their owners, ought to have been paid at least enough to start them in life.

The Judge was laden with the woes of his countrymen and borne down with the burdens of his people. He realized the momentous crisis the multitudes were in. History and prophecy struggled for leadership—history with its tale of terrible mistakes and disasters, of down-trodden multitudes, of eagles about the great, helpless carcass; then prophecy with its opening sunlit skies, its zones of fruit and flowers on either bank of rivers of the true life of men worthy to be called the children of God, arrested his attention. On his last visit here, a few weeks before his death, I was walking with him, as I had walked so many times, in his woodland pasture. One of these states of mingled history and prophecy came upon him. He stopped suddenly and said, "Mr. Kink, I feel like falling prone with face and bosom on the earth and pouring out my heart to God for direction."

We were discussing whether peaceable evolution or fratricidal revolution would be the procedure in the great transition now shaking the National heavens and earth. We both recognized the inevitableness of the transition. With, perhaps, more enthusiasm and a stronger leaning towards hopeful prophecies, I had held that it could and would be done through the ballot box. The Judge's whole nature leaned this way also, but, perhaps with a little more experience of men in their actual states, their selfishness, their ambition and motives, he was often perplexed on this point. He finally said that he had a few days before, received a letter from a friend of his at Austin in whom he had great confidence, that led him to believe, in accordance with what he greatly desired to believe, that the ruling and over ruling Divine Providence would lead the people by peaceable means out of their present industrial slavery and consequent political bondage. He then said that in order

that this might be, "politics must be elevated to a higher moral plane, and the people will have to beware of mere politicians." What he meant by "mere politicians" was not men engaged in political life; because he held that all men should take an active part in public affairs or politics proper; but men who, for selfish purposes, were merely intent on feasting and fattening on the public loaf and fish regardless of whether the public had weal or woe. Hence he despised parties formulating policies merely for campaign buncombe with no intent of ultimate, lasting good to the commonwealth.

The Judge's personal attachments were very strong. Hon. C. K. Bell, now member of congress, had been district attorney while Nugent was Judge. They had travelled and slept and eaten together. Bell brave and brawny, Nugent frail of body. Turbulent characters were often before the courts having very little regard for law, justice or judge. No bully, in Bell's presence, ever went unrebuked for attacks on the Judge's good name in or out of court. Bell always volunteered to do any surplus fighting necessary. They differed religiously, differed politically, but with the instinct that mutually recognizes manhood, whether of their own fold or not, these two men were friends first and last. The Judge was importuned to run for Congress against Mr. Bell. He told me often that he would not run against Bell if he absolutely knew that he would be elected. In this, some regarded him as weak; but life is made more sacred by such acts of pure friendship.

Sitting in my room, into which the dear Judge has so often come, so often unbosomed his heart in pleasant though plilosophic conversation, a thousand memories rush upon me, and I only wish that your forthcoming book may carry to others some of the balm of life and refreshing of strength that I have derived from an association with him.

Feeling that your book will show him as I have seen him in his walks and talks, personally, professionally and politically, and knowing that no one can get up from reading it without both pleasure and profit, even as no one could enjoy his company without great benefit, I hope it will find its way into the homes of thousands and tens of thousands and dispense about their firesides that glow of friendly and neighborly humanity

coupled with high, bounding, though child-like ways of wisdom which we here, in the old home room have so long and so many times and so beneficently enjoyed. Though he shall sit with us no more; though, when the columns move, he shall ride no longer at the front; though, when the battle is weary and wasting, we shall no longer hear his words of cheer; though, in deliberations of counsel, his calm, well considered opinion will no longer be offered; yet, incarnate him in the pages of your book and let its printed and enduring words be the sword of his great and gentle spirit, and he will be more widely present for good in thousands of hearts and homes than he could possibly have been if yet in the body.

The Judge's old and your

Sincere Friend,

THOS. B. KING.

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"Little Fritzie Powers" (Frederick William Powers) was the child of Judge Nugent's eldest daughter. His mother died when he was only nineteen months old. At that time he had been taken into his grandfather's family, and both his grandparents were greatly attached to him. The little fellow became much interested in trains when he was about four years old, and having great confidence in Santa Claus' good will and ability, wrote him a letter asking that a train be left in his Christmas stocking.

His grandmother was so pleased with Santa Claus' reply to Fritzie's letter that she preserved it:

LITTLE FRITZIE POWERS,

AT GRANDMA'S HOUSE,

EL PASO, TEXAS,

CHRISTMAS EVE, 1888.

*My Dear Little Fritzie:*

As I came down the chimney, I found your sweet little note. I am a very old, old man, and have been bringing good things to the children for many, many ages, to remind them once every year that the Lord came into the world to save them.

Not many children are so thoughtful of Santa Claus as you have been, but now and then a dear little fellow writes me a

letter as you have done, and then I try to pick out from my store of presents the gift he most desires. You will find your train waiting to gladden your bright little eyes when they open on Christmas morn.

When Christ was a little child he loved and obeyed his mama and papa, and when he became a man he was a noble working man. Now you must mind grandma and grandpa and papa and maybe you may, with your train, learn to be a little working boy, and by and by you will grow to be a working man. Then the Lord, the heavenly workman, will bless you, and old Santa Claus will be happy. Look out for me with a bigger train next Christmas.

Your loving old                      SANTA CLAUS.

(Grandpa assumes the role of Santa Claus.)

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#### AN INCIDENT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1894.

During his campaign tour in the fall of '94, after speaking at Houston, Judge Nugent started on his way the next morning to fill an appointment at Galveston that night. When some few miles out from Houston, upon the conductor coming round for his ticket, he discovered that he had taken the wrong train and was on his way to Velasco instead of Galveston. The conductor told him of a little way station about half a mile back where he would probably be able to get a conveyance to take him back to Houston. The train slowed up and he got off on the prairie. He walked to the station where the agent with his wife and several small children lived, and asked if they could provide him with the means of getting back to Houston at once. He explained that he had to speak in Galveston that night, but did not tell who he was. They told him that they had nothing but an old broken down, rickety buggy and a poor old horse that couldn't well travel, but if he would go on to the next house, perhaps the people there would take him. The next house was three-quarters of a mile further on. Judge Nugent picked up his two valises—one containing his traveling wardrobe and the other his political ammunition—and trudged off weary in body and spirit. When he arrived at this house, the people told him that their teams were all out

on the prairie, gathering in the hay, and that they could not take him, but they informed him of another house, a mile further on, where he might be able to get transportation.

Leaving his valises here, he walked on to the next house where he found the inmates at dinner and accepted their hospitable invitation to join them. They had no vehicle of any kind, but offered a pair of horses and a man to go with him to bring the horses back. Just as the Judge and his escort were preparing to mount, they saw a buggy with a woman in it coming at full speed over the prairie. It was the wife of the agent at the station where the Judge had first stopped. She had gone over to the next house to inquire who he was. On learning, she rushed back home, hitched up her horse "hardly able to travel" to her "rickety old buggy," and taking in the two valises on her way, hastened after the owner.

"Why didn't you tell us who you were?" she cried as she came up. "You could have been in Houston by this time. We are not going around carrying Democrats and Republicans to make speeches. Get in quick. We can make the Santa Fe at a crossing four miles away." The Judge got in and they rattled away. On reaching the crossing, he advised the woman to return as he could wait for the train alone.

"No," she said, "I am not going back. You don't know anything about flagging trains and I'm going to flag this one for you." And she did. She refused all offers of payment and would not accept even a present of money for her children. She was only too glad to have been able to do what she had done.

The Judge boarded the train and that night made his speech. Whatever benefit the people of Galveston derived from it may be attributed to this energetic woman. Had it not been for her, that speech probably would never have been delivered. Judge Nugent held her in grateful remembrance to the end of his life, and his family will ever cherish her memory in their hearts. They only regret that they did not learn her name.



## RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

### RELIGION, POLITICS, AND PHILOSOPHY.

Judge T. L. Nugent, replying to many questions and charges concerning his religious, economic and political views, answered in the *Advance* as follows:

Let me say, therefore, once for all that I am a Protestant of the most pronounced type, and believe most faithfully in the fundamental teachings of the Christian religion—particularly in the vital doctrine of Christ's divinity and that of the saving efficiency of the divine truth—divine truth applied to the life, that is, accepted, believed and obeyed. I am no enemy of church organizations, but believe that the concentration of all ecclesiastical power in the hands of any one religious body would result in the destruction of both political and religious freedom. I regard it as a singular manifestation of the divine good will, that Protestantism has led to the development of so many forms of religious belief and to the establishment of so many churches. Thus the tendency to extreme intolerance is counterbalanced, the humane sentiment liberated and set free and social evolution along the lines of a true fraternity made possible. Thus tyranny over thought is broken, or so far restrained that, from this on to the end, it must always be felt as a spent force. As you will see, so far from believing church organizations to be a "menace to free institutions," I regard them as singularly promotive of individual and social freedom, and of all institutions in which the spirit of freedom seeks to embody itself. But I believe that any effort to thrust religious controversies into the arena of party politics must be attended with evil consequences—especially evil to the cause of political and social reform. We cannot afford to make war on any church or creed, or to lay down any test of religious belief. Let the theologians quarrel as much as they please; the People's Party will have its hands full if it devotes itself with full and complete abandonment to its great mission, which contemplates nothing less than the elimination of monopoly, both in spirit and fact, from our entire industrial scheme. It will be

seen by all fair-minded men that the achievement of this great result can only be made possible by the cultivation of that spirit of freedom and fraternity which alone can bring noble men together for noble purposes. This does not mean Bellamyism, as a certain class of politicians falsely charge, but a political state or condition in which strictly public and social functions shall be turned over to the government and the private citizen left in undisturbed freedom to achieve his own destiny in his own way, by the exercise of his individual skill and industry and the legitimate investment of his own capital. It will be seen that the accomplishment of such a task must necessarily involve the displacement of all narrow intolerance and the co-operation of humane men under the inspiration of a genuine, true and lasting freedom. Bellamyism may come many centuries hence. The living present demands a government of law and order organized on the lasting foundations of political equality and justice.

T. L. NUGENT.

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#### JUDGE NUGENT'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

Judged from either a historical or scientific standpoint, we invariably find that no one thing has so much to do in moulding the character of men, as their views, or beliefs, as to their relations to God and God's relations to them. It has passed into a well established proverb that, "As a man's God is, so is the man." The same may be said also of nations. Under the inspiration of deities of intellect, of art, of music, of earth and sky and wind and wave, Greece was filled with great families of philosophers and poets, and an innumerable cult of scholars and sculptors, with a long line of great commanders on both land and sea; to say nothing of troubadours with their timbrels and harps and their unearthly lutes and flutes. In the days of its gods, Greece was simply glorious. The Roman worship of Mars as the God of war, nerved the scarred and veteran legions of Rome; the Roman standard was erected in all countries, and the Roman eagle soared in the sunshine of all climes. The followers of Mahomet, believing in a God who would reward the Mahometan soldier who fell in the battle with a home above the stars where, amid bowers of flowers, black-eyed houris would serve ambrosial nectars to the thirsty, and pre-

pare couches of cider-down scented with the rarest of perfumes, for the repose and pleasure of the war-worn brave, went into the battle as the bride-groom goeth to the bridal chamber; and the crescent waved everywhere, from the Euphrates eastward to the blue rolling Mediterranean westward. The daughters of Arabia always had cause, in their tents in the fastnesses of the desert, to chant psalms of victory when news came from any field at the front where their husbands and sons met any and every foe. These simple shepherds and horse-raisers of the sandy plains, by their religious faith, were transformed into invincible heroes, translating garments rolled in blood into garments of glory. Cromwell's ironside brigade of shaved haired peasants, going into battle with prayer and psalm, never failed to break the bosom of the long-haired Cavaliers who had, in a life of ease and revelry, "forgotten God." The sad and sallow face of Stonewall Jackson, arising from his knees in prayer and putting himself in the saddle, inspired the spirits and strengthened the sinews of the roughest riders in the ranks, and baptized the prim and prude Presbyterian, and the rough and tumble "Louisiana Tiger" into one baptism that washed away all fear; so that, in receiving a charge, their bosoms were like stones in a wall, and in giving a charge, their breath was like a cyclonic funnel in the forest.

Some who are superficial, that is, who look merely on the surface of things, may regard, and do regard, the religious sentiment as a mere superstition. But those who recognize from a scientific standpoint the relations between the outer and inner worlds, between man's inner soul and his outward body, between spirit aglow with all of the electrifying elements of an endless life and matter which is absolutely dead except as organized and vivified by spirit, at once comprehend clearly how it is, that those things which affect the spirit, or inner, or religious part of man, are as much more powerful than mere material things, as the awful and forceful current of electricity clothed in the lightning's flash, is more forceful than unorganized and unvivified dust and sand and ashes.

Some think that religion, in which term we comprehend religious matters generally, may do for women and children, who are personifications of affection, but not for intelligent

men. But when we review all of the great military commanders of such powerful nations as Greece and Rome, and see that, before going on campaigns or entering great battles on sea or land, they invariably consulted the oracles of their gods, we find that even strong men have some idea of a power above that of mere sense and matter.

So with Judge Nugent. From his earliest childhood, he had very strong religious impressions. These impressions went with and controlled him all through his boyhood, through his college life, in his army life, as a teacher, and through his career as lawyer and judge, and more especially, strange to say, in his political career. It is true that some of his earlier views and impressions may have been as rude or crude, in some respects, as were those of the ancient Greek—yet they controlled and actuated him. To say nothing of his earliest views, when he became of age he began to do that which characterized his life as a lawyer and statesman, that is, he began to think and reason—to think and reason even about spiritual matters. He meditated, not on house tops, not on street corners, not in boisterous assemblies; but in the secret chambers of his own soul which found a congenial environment in the privacy of his own home. As he meditated, he became serious as to the vital relations existing between himself, as a receptive member, or organ, of life, and God the source of life itself. As he thought and thought, he came into knowledge of the relative position he occupied, not only to the God side of his life, but also to the neighbor side. Coming gradually and painfully, at times, out of a state wherein thought of God's truth and reasoning about God's word were felt to be somewhat treasonable to the truth itself; yet being sincere and honest, he soon began to experience the blessing which the great Teacher, who was the truth itself, promised when he said: "Blessed is he who heareth these things of mine and understandeth them." During all his childhood and youth, he had "heard the sayings" of the Master. In his earliest manhood, he put himself in the endeavor to "understand them." And in this effort to understand the truth, he did not confine himself to the teachings of the elders; but craved and sought light wherever he could find light. He was

not afraid to hear any man who could give the reason for, or rational explanation of, any truth. Knowing that men ought to be rational creatures, and that certainly the creator of the universe, with all things therein, must be a rational Being, he dared to exercise his rational faculty. In this, all rational men will admit he was right. Thus, in sincere intent, beginning and proceeding with intelligent care and thought, his religious conclusions were substantially as follows :

As to God: Seeing, in the very nature of things, that however numerous the members may be, there can be but one head to a body—otherwise there would be the monstrosity of hydra-headedness; seeing that there must be a head to everything—otherwise there would be confusion, contradiction and anarchy; coming into the thought of the necessity of the oneness of Godhead, he began to see the truth, and the necessity of the truth, of all those multiplied and multi-repeated texts of the Divine Word which declare, that the first and great truth, or commandment, is, that the Lord thy God is one God, and beside Him there is no God; that Holy, Holy is His nature, or name; that God is the Holy One.

Rationally concluding, as well as being taught by the Bible, which he deemed the word of this God, that we ought to know something about this God who is our head, he studied deeply about Him and His relations to men and men's relations to Him and to each other. Thus taught, and thus seeing, the necessity of this one God manifesting Himself to men on earth, and revealing Himself to the comprehension of men, he began to study the spiritual, as well as the corresponding natural, *rationale* by which God would make Himself known to men, and come into union and communion with men on the earth.

Recognizing that like must accommodate itself to like—otherwise there can be no coming together—no coming of one to an unlike other; recognizing that there is a natural body and there is a spiritual body, and that spiritual substances are to the spiritual body what natural substances are to the natural body; and recognizing the truth that "God is a spirit," he concluded that man, to have any relation—any intelligent communication with God—must also be a spirit.

Hence, first understanding himself to be made in the image of God, who is a spirit, that he may understand God to the finite degree in which he understands himself, he saw himself—saw every man—a spiritual being and an individual spirit clothed with a natural body while in the natural world. Regarding man as such a being, he clearly saw how the Infinite Spirit might act on finite spirits, or men,—like acting upon like. But in the study of Him who was, and is, the First and the Last—the Alpha and the Omega—he found God to be more than a spirit. As the Alpha, or the beginning, the inmost of all beings, He was Life itself; and as the Omega, or outmost, He says: “A spirit hath not flesh and bones as you see me have.” Recognizing clearly that there could be but one God, and also seeing that the Lord Jesus Christ is repeatedly called God—Thomas exclaiming to Him, “My Lord and my God;” and other apostles calling Him “The only wise God, our Savior.” In Revelation, He is called the “First and the Last” and “beside Him there is none”—and being universally taught in every part of the Bible to worship only God; and in the Apocalyptic visions, seeing everything in Heaven—elders, angels, and all—worshipping Him, he recognized the Lord as the “Only wise God, our Savior,” and worshiped Him alone.

Regarding the Scripture as true, and studying to reconcile this apparent inconsistency of having the Father as God, and Jesus, and Christ, as another person, or God; by the help of the laws of spiritual science, as taught by the illustrious Swedenborg, he came into a clear understanding of how God manifested Himself in the flesh, how He, going forth out of the secret places of the inmost Heavens in the midst of the days, stood with His feet upon Mount Zion; how He, Who in the beginning was God, was made flesh and dwelt among us in flesh. The incarnation was solved. He rationally saw God, or the essential divinity—the esse of all things—in his descent, or coming down, first clothing Himself with the celestial body and thus bringing Himself into union, or atonement, with the celestial Heavens and the celestial angels thereof. For there are celestial bodies. But the yearning love of the great

Father-heart did not permit him to stop on the celestial plane. Descending—coming out from the center—He clothed Himself with a spiritual body and came into union, or atonement, with spirits unclothed from the flesh body. Having other children not yet of the celestial or spiritual folds—children upon the earth—Jehovah clothed Himself with a fleshly garment, or body, and thus brought Himself into union or atonement, with even the outermost parts of the earth, and brought “life more abundant” to men on earth; and the currents of life flowed into even the dead. Thus the atonement was seen in its true light.

One God, one life, one ordered scheme  
 Divinely natural, its all is shown;  
 Nature of nature, positive, supreme,  
 Infiiverse in universe; 'tis known  
 As “Theosocia,” in goodness shrined;  
 Home of God-man in universed mankind.

As a matter of course, in this sketch of Judge Nugent's views, neither time nor space, nor perhaps appropriateness, permit going into details of, or more than a general expression of, his religious convictions. But following the Bible, written according to a spiritual science more exact and unerring than any material or mathematical science, he was led to the most satisfactory conclusion—yes, to knowledge as definite as the conclusion of a mathematical solution—that the Lord Jesus Christ was the one wise God, our Savior and Heavenly Father; for, “Unto us a child is born; a son is given who is the Mighty God, the Heavenly Father, the Prince of Peace.” That God, to mediate Himself and come down to man, took upon himself, not the celestial or spiritual nature of angels as He did in Eden, but the nature and fleshly clothing of man. Thus this great source and center of all life manifested Himself to men, that they might not only receive life more abundant, but might see what manner of father He was; and, so seeing, be able, as His children, to follow Him as children naturally follow a father; and loving and obeying the father, grow up in his image and likeness. Hence Judge Nugent, while others, especially politicians, were forgetting God, had Him ever

tangibly and personally in view ; and his political, as well as personal actions and utterances received their general trend from the gentle and guileless, humble and helpful to all who live in His presence.

If a child is encouraged in the presence of a loving parent, and restrained, or constrained, as the case may be, by that presence ; if Lee's legions were rendered unconquerable and conquering heroes by Lee's immediate presence among them ; if there can come an efflux of inspiring and strengthening power from the human spirit of a human father or captain through the frail medium of the human voice and eye and earthly presence, how much more, in all fullness, comes the strengthening inspiration from Him in whom dwelleth all the fullness of the God-head !

In trying to find out God by plunging into all the wide and deep and bottomless abysses of mere thought, there come unrest and distraction, but to behold God as embodied and manifested to our rational sense, as he was in the anointed humanity with which He clothed Himself in our world, brings that peace which is ever found in His presence. Hence we find Judge Nugent always in a calm and considerate sphere. Recognizing God to be such a God as revealed in the meek and helpful Jesus of Nazareth, he saw that rulers should be servants of all—should minister instead of being ministered to. Hence the higher he got in public life, the humbler he became—the more tender he became to those below. As seen in his last letter to the press, declining to run for Governor on account of his failing health, he says, that the “cry of the poor was continually in his ears.” (See letter in appendix.) In the presence and under the inspiration of Him who came out of the palace of the Heaven of Heavens to live in the fishermen's huts on the Sea of Galilee, or wearied with fasting and foot-wandering, falling asleep at night on the mountains or in the brakes of the wilderness—of estate worse than bird or fox—and imbued, baptized, born again, or whatever else you call it, of this ministering spirit, Judge Nugent often found himself, in the human degree, as correspondingly far separated from his original state



and companions, as the Lord found Himself away from angels when right down among men. Nurtured in a southern home, where all influences of social, church and political life—where sun, moon and stars, winds, tides and currents, all fluxed and conflued into one stream of bitterness against the northern Abolitionism; and where the southern youths were sworn like young Hannibals with eternal anathemas and delendas against northern men, he found himself, in his onward and upward evolution and transition, conscientiously believing that God used Abolition agitators as a means of freeing the African from American bondage; and he died without prejudice or enmity, and with the utmost good-will for northern men, as well as for those of his own south-land. Professionally, his genius, his learning, his education, and his natural disposition qualified him to be at home with, and a shining member of, the inner cult of circles where counsellors, jurists and judges disport themselves in the wildest revels of legal distinctions and disputations. Leaving this cult, he went into outer and circumferential places, where the Alliance man, in simplicity, was asking aid in the first things of simple honest government; and made these his companions. He believed that the Lord is in the constant endeavor to reach down and out, through ultimates, to man on his own plane. In the open and receptive minds of the Alliance people—ahunger and athirst to find out the right way of doing things—he recognized the workings of the Spirit of God breathing into humanity and leading it, as rapidly as it will allow itself to be led, to its final salvation.

Being an acknowledged leader among leaders of a great political party—a party that not only had 200,000 majority of votes in his State, but in whose ranks were the elect and select socially of the old time Southern chivalry, who were the chosen and congenial companions and comrades of his whole early life—he left this party, and went among the homeless and helpless humbler classes to render them help. This was the effect which Judge Nugent's religion had upon him politically. It was the same spirit of helpfulness for the helpless, seeing for the blind, hearing for the deaf, healing for the sick, that led,

in greater degree, the Lord God our Savior to come, "not to be ministered to, but to minister."

What pleasure Jehovah could have had among the publicans and sinners and lepers and sick, halt and blind, to whom He came, and with whom He cast His earthly lot, other than to lift them up and help them, no sane man can see. Every sane man can see that there was great need of some one helping them; for, perhaps, in no age of the world, as low as humanity has been before and since, was the human race so low down and in such pitiable states as when Jehovah incarnated Himself among men. So with our agricultural and laboring classes at this day. Producers of all wealth, and yet, retaining but little to use for the necessities of life—retaining scarcely anything for the comforts, and absolutely nothing for the luxuries—fast becoming homeless and houseless—the mere victims to be bled of what little blood they have, to nourish the great fortunes of the Midases of wealth, concentrated by corners and corporations; seemingly without hope for aught except the grinding life spent in unrequited toil of limb and travail of spirit. With such a class, such a man as Judge Nugent with his splendid talent, his high-strung sensitiveness, his social and political opportunities, would have had no companionship, had his religion not led him to devote his talent and all his social and political influence to helping those who needed help. And we may add, that in this work, he at least tasted of the peace which is not understandable to many, and felt that joy which is unutterable to any except those who do the will of God toward the needy neighbor.

There was, apparently, an inconsistency which led many to believe that Judge Nugent never had any of what is commonly called "religion." He seldom attended church. This was not because he believed churches were not doing good; but rather, he felt that, just at present, he could receive no good from them. But, because he never hungered or thirsted, and hence never felt called upon to eat out of the dishes or drink out of the cups in which religious meat and drinks are being served in the churches of the day, he did not think that those that found meat and drink in due season in any church, ought

not to partake thereof. After his transition from the ordinarily accepted faith of the God-head into seeing that there was not, and could not be, more than one God; and that all of the entirety—all of the fullness of the God-head was, and is, and ever will be, in the glorified Lord Jesus, his views of doctrine so diverged from those who thought of more than one God, or of any other God than the Lord God, that he felt pained in mind at teachings which contravened the orderly and scientifically connected doctrines which flow in utmost conflux and coherence from the knowledge of God as the one Lord. In fact, the promulgation of this doctrine of one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, into one body in which only one God is found accommodating Himself as the only wise God, our Savior, is able to cause, and will cause, all old things to pass away and all things to become new—and old things no longer to be remembered. But, while Judge Nugent had passed through this transition, he by no means thought that there was no Christianity, no salvation for man, no man loyal except he believed to-day as he believed to-day himself. In fact, he was more liberal, not only in his hopes, but in his studied convictions about the salvation of men, than he possibly could have been had he been a full communicant and worshiper at every orthodox sanctuary in the world.

The Judge had caught the great truth and the wide meaning of what the Master of Truth said to the Samaritan woman, who herself thought that worship could only be offered at the altars on the Samaritan Mountains, and who equally thought that the Prophet Master taught that Jerusalem was the only place where men could worship. Said the great Teacher to the woman: "Woman, believe me, that the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what. We know what we worship. The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." Hence Judge Nugent believed that wherever the spirit of God is, wherever the truth of God is known and used, even in its mustard-seed state of smallest of

all things, that, then and there, those receiving of the Father's spirit and ultimating the truth in actual life, however feeble and faint, are in worship of God. Hence, passing by and through the sanctuaries of all orthodox churches, where many disconnected and separated truths are to be found and where much of the smoking flax of the Father's spirit continues to flicker, on through the pulpits of unorthodox churches, where certainly some segregated christian truths are proclaimed and some sprinkling of the Father's spirit is scattered; and on through the religions of the uttermost parts of the earth, from which even simple idolators try to keep in contact with God through the rude and crude images representing some truth or feature of the One God—in all of these places—in all of these states of life—he thought there was enough leaven of truth to finally leaven the whole of nations, kindred, tongues, and tribes into a kingdom of heaven in keeping with the wants and capabilities of each.

Whether receiving truth through an earthly priest, or direct from Him who is the great Priest Himself; whether receiving inspiration and instruction through emblems and types, or direct from the spiritual substance typified in the emblem; whether learning through the words of instructors of the Word, or learning the Word itself, is a matter depending on one certain thing—the ability and enlightenment of mind in person. The great overwhelming majority of men of the earth are in such far away states from God, that far away and faint emblems of God are the only things that can keep them in remembrance, or teach them of God. Many men are so immersed in the mere sensories, or sensuals, of life, that it takes a flesh and blood priest to come at them, or affect them. Many are so given to external things, that it takes external church and ordinances, and external priests with external words and emblems, to affect them at all. The idolators are so far in the externals of life, that the Divine Providence permits even wooden and brazen images without life, and idols without ears or eyes, to keep alive in the idolatrous nations a faint idea of Deity—of a being, however indefinite, at least out of and above themselves. Happy would an idolator be, to be able to

cast down his idols and worship God direct. Happy is the man who is able to dispense with broken emblems, and eat the living bread, and drink the living water dispensed by Him who is the bread and the water of life. Happy is the man who heareth the earthly priest, as the minister of Christ; but happier is he who can, and does, hear Jehovah Himself, speaking and teaching in His own Word, and emerging through His own Divine-Natural and glorified humanity.

As to such a state being possible, Judge Nugent thought that the Scriptures clearly taught it, in such passages as prophesied a day coming when no man should enquire of another, "Know ye the Lord?" and when men would not have to go to Jerusalem, nor to other altars, to worship; but everywhere, and in all things, should worship God, who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth.

He believed that all men would finally be saved. The God who is all goodness, could never create man to suffer eternal torture. As long as there is, in all the universe, one single thing in pain or torture or sorrow, God himself feels that pain, and continues to be crucified as long as the wrong-doing and suffering of humanity endure. Christ's sufferings upon the cross were not merely physical. The accumulated agony of the sin and suffering of all the ages was upon Him. It will be upon Him until all the universe—earth, heaven, hell, and all the spiritual worlds—are redeemed. God made men as one great body of which He is the head. As the nerves transmit to the brain every sensation of the human body, so is transmitted to God, through the invisible and much more wonderful links that bind together the whole of the material and spiritual creations, and center in God, all the sensations that man ever feels. As a man feels pain in hand or foot, from cut or burn, God feels it with him, and feels every hurt in the same way. If the members of the physical body are at war with each other or if any be injured, then all must suffer. Only when the members work together in harmony is there health and freedom from pain. So not until all the members—from the least to the greatest—of God's vast universe, recognize this truth and work together in harmony and order, will the great

redemption have taken place. If you injure your brother, injure aught that God has made, God suffers all that you have caused another to suffer. This is the meaning of His words, "Even as ye have done it unto the least of these, my little ones, ye have done it unto me." Hence every cup of cold water, every kind word given to the poorest and meanest of God's creatures is as much given to God, as if God Himself in bodily presence stood before you. Every unkind word, unkind thought or deed, given to your fellow creature is given to God, and the sorrow and pain which you cause Him in this way adds to the mighty burden of suffering that has been accumulating for Him since sin and suffering began. God inflicts no suffering. The sufferings caused by the evils of mankind—and all suffering is caused by evil—He feels in all their intensity.

Judge Nugent believed that even the devils in Hell would be redeemed. Not that man, or devil, should be saved in spite of himself, for no one can be saved except of his own free will: but that there is a turning point for every man, even though he may have descended to the lowest hell, when the Divinity that is in him begins to struggle upward once more. The lower he has gone—the more he has given himself up to evil and sin—the more painful and difficult must be his struggle back to that purity which man must have to become the associate of angels. But that every man will, even though it be after many ages and through terrific struggles, led by the tender and watchful care of God who is always with him, finally attain the estate of the blessed. He believed that by following Christ—living a life of service to others—one may hasten the day when God's kingdom shall come on earth. The following is found marked in one of his favorite books:

"Earth requires a kingdom that is religion, a religion that shall be a kingdom; that rest in love and service; that shall outgrow as a divine humanity; that shall so enter into and fill humanity; that shall move forth, not as from without, but as from within; yea, that shall be so inclusive in the operations of its benevolence, that it shall touch devils as well as men of finer issues,—at once reach those of the race encamped so

transiently upon this bubble, the globe, and the sad and shadowy troops of its ancestry, dropped down into the under-world.

"It is the competitive life that crucifies humanity. It is working as a hireling that brutalizes; that arrays man against his fellow, and all against God. We want no beggarly communism—the selfishness of the many, as society is the selfishness of the few. Christ worked for love; by love produced, enriched, uplifted, amplified gifts, and was prepared to save the race. He is our Truth; thus we would embody His truth. He is our way; thus we would follow Him in service."

"The actual and profound philanthropist is the saddest of men, knowing that all his painful and virtuous effort is, at best, palliative, and that it brings no cure to the world's sin and misery. Philanthropy is but the hyssop on the sponge, lifted with a reed, and touched to the lips of humanity upon its cross. But Christ comes that humanity may be taken down from the cross. 'Come unto me, and learn of me, and ye shall find rest.' There is no rest on earth outside of the kingdom of God, where service, finding its divine method, makes outlet for the heroic inspirations of the great host and harmony of the divine affections in man. The kingdom of God in His working form, let into humanity for the service of humanity. Here the more a man serves, the more he rests. Yes, the liftings of service are liftings up into the very bosom of rest. He sleeps in God who wakes and toils with man."

A clean and righteous decision as judge; a lucid and conscientious argument as an advocate; a clear and comprehensive pleading as a pleader; a kind word to the friendless; a cup of cold water, or a piece of bread to the athirst and ahungered, were acts into which the spirit of God entered through the spirit of the actor, and in which the spirit of man is baptized with the spirit of God, and he worships God in "spirit and in truth." Judging a tree by its fruit Judge Nugent seemed to be about as pure and spiritually minded as the most of us who are in states of life that compel us to attend churches where earthly priests do minister, in order to keep us straight. He seemed to have received that peculiar white stone which none can read but him who hath it. Judge Nugent always dared to

think, as will be seen by a letter published elsewhere in this volume. By sincere study of the expositions given by Swedenborg, of the law, or science, by which the Bible might be understood, both in the letter and in the spirit—on both natural and spiritual planes of life—he dared to investigate on planes of which Swedenborg himself knew, or at least wrote, but little. He recognized the word of God as infinite in lessons of wisdom—depth opening beneath depth—height expanding above height—to the extent that no angel, much less mortal man, would ever reach the point at which he would not have cause to exclaim: “Open Thou mine eyes that I may behold wondrous things out of Thy law.” The Judge not only cried in his spirit for the opening of his eyes, but when opened, he took pleasure in looking. We know that knowledge has not been in fullness at any past era; and that no mortal in any past generation has not only not possessed all knowledge, but that no man has ever even explored all the latitudes and longitudes of wisdom. Still, knowing that each and all must have their meat and bread in due season, he never endeavored to impose his own advanced views on others not in states of mind to receive and digest and use them for their own and others’ good. He was singularly free from the spirit of what is called proselytism. Often he would call attention to things which were far in advance of what is generally received; but knowing that no man naturally can receive and digest the healthiest of food without having a hunger or appetite for it; so, in spiritual matters, he knew that the law of health required that spiritual meats and drinks be offered only to those who are ahungered and to those who are athirst. Finding no hunger or thirst, he made no further offer. But wherever he found any one in states to receive what he had to offer, he was profuse in his bestowal of an abundance. He well understood what the Savior meant when He said to His disciples, that he had many things to say to them in future, which they were yet not ready to receive. Every man knows that in dealing with children, parents do not divulge all knowledge at once to the childish mind. Teachers do not teach the higher mysteries of trigonometry or chemistry to abecedarians. Still, it is no crime for either



teachers or parents to know more than they teach to infants—provided they use their higher knowledge for those in the higher degrees of mental attainment. Men are right in saying that no one should have knowledge without using it. In this, Judge Nugent fully concurred. In fact, the keystone of his religion was, that all knowledge has relation to use, and that which is not used is taken away; that use is necessarily, as well as beneficently, the law of life itself. Christ, in His day, found but few ready to receive and properly use either the spiritual or celestial truths of which He was the embodiment. So to the multitudes He spoke in parables; but to the select few, He showed the deep mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. In a less degree—a degree as less as that which is human is inferior to that which is divine—Judge Nugent kept the pearls of his advanced knowledge from those who could not, and would not, appreciate them and appropriate them to their use. But, as stated, he would talk all day and night with such as expressed a desire to know of things not yet generally received; but which, logically and inevitably, are coming when men are ready to receive them; and have even come now to the “few” who are ready, out of the many called who are not. If the healing power of life, from the center source of life, could reach and mediate itself to the heathen idolators in the uttermost parts of the earth, from which the inhabitants look through images up to God; if while yet clothed with a body filled with all the infirmities of a race of extraordinarily infirm people, saving power could go out through His fingers to restore the blind; and saving health go out through His earthly garments to cure all manner of sickness; after He had glorified this body and brought it into perfect atonement with the divine life that dwelt in it, how much greater was the power acting on men than when merely mediated to them through images or broken emblems, or earthly priests and symbols and types of all of which the Lord was the substance.

To some who do not comprehend the relation and correlation of spirit to matter, Judge Nugent's views seemed mystical, if not merely visionary. But, when weighed by all laws known to obtain in the natural world, and viewed in the light

of all well recognized phenomena, it will be seen that his views were as substantial and as judiciously rational as the deductions of any natural law.

In nature we find all life coming from within and clothing itself in appropriate covering or body. Whence comes the blossom on the fruit tree? Whence comes the body of the tree? Whence comes the power which sloughs off the dead bark and twigs of the forest and clothes the trees with new and expanding garments, or bodies? When a man's spirit leaves this body, what becomes of the body? In fact all nature demonstrates that all natural phenomena are dependent upon some inner life-power as their source, or creating cause. Now He in whom there is no variableness, does not act one way in the natural world and another way in the spiritual world. That there is an exact correspondence between things natural and things spiritual is shown by the fact, that the Master Teacher always spoke to the multitudes in parables—using some natural phenomenon to illustrate and teach some spiritual phenomenon, the natural not being more, or less tangible, to the natural mind than the spiritual is to the spiritual mind. No one recognized more distinctly the far reaching and signal consequences of spiritual power working from within outwardly, than did Judge Nugent. He recognized that this was the way in which what is called the second coming of Jehovah is bound to take place, and that this Second coming is now, and has been for many years, taking place. Seeing that Jehovah, having once come into all ultimates, or externals, and having opened a way, or highway, by and through which life could flow from Him into even all of the uttermost parts of, or externals, of His creations, and seeing that this way had been by men either closed by their omissions, or greatly obstructed by their commissions, neither knowledge nor attending life from the primal source was being received by men on the earth, he recognized the necessity of the descent into all mind and life on the earthly plane, of Him who is the truth and the life in essence. And that this coming, while not effected by outward or external means; yet in time would affect all outward and external things including not only individual men, but all churches and politi-

of kingdoms and through these the very animal and vegetable kingdoms to the extent that all would be brought to partake of the universal stream, or union, with the primal source of life—and thus that all things should be renewed.

Being a discernor of the signs, or phenomena, of this coming life, he saw them everywhere. He saw them in the growing independence of the press, that greatest of vehicles of light; he saw them in the columns of the great magazines; he saw them in the awakening of the masses, as they are organizing in Labor Guilds and Alliances and Mutual Co-operative bodies for mutual enlightenment and help. He saw them in men running to and fro, seeking light. In the universal demand that priests give a reason for the hope that is in them, and that politicians practice what they promise, he saw the coming of the righteous Judge. In the establishment of Public Free Schools, of Orphan Asylums, of Asylums for the blind and the deaf, he saw the coming again of the Great Father among His children. In the magical inventions springing full blown, as if from the brain of Minerva, he saw the coming of the great Innovator. Recognizing the passing of the Dark Ages and the coming of light on all planes of life, he knew the "Sun" was necessarily coming, if not already rising in the East. Seeing the confusion of those great parties, he knew it was a mere prolude to their judgment and final casting down and but preliminary to the coming in of a better order of political rule, wherein the rulers would be servants and the people, for whose benefit government was instituted, would be sovereign masters.

In fact, he believed that He that sitteth upon the throne, upon the seat of all power, was coming, is now coming, to make all things new; that this coming is from within, but irresistibly working outwardly for the renewal of all things. And He thought that as men were able to receive and beneficently use, that there would be no end of the coming of Him, who is Life. He recognized that he lived in the dim morning of the coming light. He never expected to live on earth to see the full day, when the sun should shine as at noon-tide. But he saw the glint of the morning, and held up his head and rejoiced, and

passed away from earth in well founded hope for his country and countrymen.

The reader will gather from the foregoing thoughts, and from his own letters, that Judge Nugent's religious views extended through and comprehended all the essentials of Christian theology, taking in the Deity, or God-head, with all the fullness thereof in Christ; the Incarnation, not of Christ, but of Jehovah Himself "in Christ;" the Atonement, or the bringing into unity the human and Divine, the natural and the spiritual, so that not only the anointed Divine-human, called "the Christ," received all of the fullness of the God-head, but, through this Divine-human poured out all spiritual power onto the human plane where men dwell, in such mediated way and portion, that men actually, as spiritual beings, live and move and have their entire being in the sphere of this outpouring spiritual power of the Heavenly Sun—even as all natural things live and grow in the light and heat of the natural sun. And more important now to us, is the fact of the coming again of the light and heat—Wisdom and attendant Love—of the "Sun of Righteousness," with healing on His wings for the Nations.

Certainly the life of Judge Nugent should make all seekers and teachers of truth inquire what it was that gave him such power for good, such influence for the right, and such affection from the weary and heavy-laden masses. If this is done, the object of this sketch is accomplished. For this article is not written for the laudation of him; but that all that wish to know the secret of his power may know where to find it.

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MRS. T. L. NUGENT, Fort Worth, Texas:

*Dear Madam*—I must beg forgiveness for delay in answering your letter of the 16th inst. If I had followed the impulse of my heart, the answer would have been written immediately. But my health and strength were not adequate to the execution of what my love for Judge Nugent demanded of me. And the

longer I lingered over the duty the greater appeared my incompetency to meet the claims of this last sad tribute to my friend.

How shall I begin to name his virtues? or, rather, having once begun to enumerate them, where and when could my love find a period for the sketch or recollections you have solicited? Indeed, I am unequal to the task. My tears would drown the words of condolence if I should stay to estimate or realize the greatness of our loss in Judge Nugent's departure from this world. For to me there is absolutely no one living to whom I can turn as a substitute. Where is there another so tender, or so true? so delicate in his perceptions of others' tastes and so considerate of all their frailties and foibles! Where is there another who has penetrated so deeply the mysteries of our spiritual relations to life, and yet maintained a steady poise and a firm stand in this life? It really seems as if Judge Nugent was a naturalized citizen of both the visible and invisible worlds; as much at home in the one as in the other; and a peer of the realm in both. To those intimately associated with him, it has for years been manifest that his highest delight was in those writings and studies that lift the veil of sense and introduce us to the realities of the unseen world. Yet he always maintained a firm hold upon the affairs of this busy world and the deepest interest in every question of public import. No man realized more than he that the service of country and the cause of humanity should command his first attention. Witness his last card, withdrawing from the gubernatorial contest.

Friendship of old has been called a "jewel," and certainly Judge Nugent's friendship was, to his friends, a diamond of the first water. When one of his best and most intimate friends spoke to me of him, this was his tribute of love: "You will find him true, always and everywhere, and to the last, true to his friends." Little did I then know how that trait of his character was to be tested to its utmost tension in his subsequent friendship for me. The fiery trial to which his friendship was subjected seemed only to increase the ardor of his attachment for me. His letters, written in those days of trial, whenever read by me, always produce sensations in my spirit like

the aroma of a flower-bed, set with the sweetest scented flowers. There was not a word or line that was not redolent of his warm affections and radiant with the light of his highly cultured intellect. I have never read any letters that were comparable to his. They were models, not simply as the souvenirs of the choicest sentiment and warmest sympathies, but they were absolutely unique and wholly original, both as to their animus and their style. I have read the correspondence of many great men, but have yet to find any letters so sweetly flavored by the heart or more suggestive of the purest and highest truths. How could it be otherwise? Did not your husband live, move and have his being in the loftiest realms of philosophy and theology? Was not his buoyant and busy brain always bearing him heavenward in his daily meditations on the highest and holiest themes? Do you not remember the sweet smiles that always kindled in his eyes, and the radiant glow of his countenance during our winter evening readings of the brilliant occultism of T. L. Harris and the wisdom of the grand old seer of Sweden? How his manly soul reveled in those sublime revelations from the unseen world. With what exquisite delight did he listen to and read those splendid specimens of rhetoric and eloquence that were displayed on the pages of Esoteric Christianity and Buddhism. I shall never forget those winter evenings on another account; and you must forgive me for this allusion to yourself, for the incident reflects a light upon domestic science that may not be unprofitable to others; and I know that your husband wants me to say this. I allude to the fact that you were always an interested listener and heartily participated in our discussions of our metaphysical and often very abstruse subjects. Although this happened many years ago, I still remember how much your presence and intelligent sympathy added to the enjoyment of those winter evenings.

Of late I have been studying the works of that greatest of modern philosophers, Henry James of Mass., and I have longed for the society of Judge Nugent in pursuing this lonely but lofty pathway of theology and philosophy. There was never another man within the large circle of my acquaintance to

whom I could turn with full confidence of an instant and whole-souled recognition of the transcendent claims of this new philosophy and theology. But though absent in the body now, you know that he is spiritually nearer to us, and that as a ministering spirit he can throw a brighter light into our minds from the heavenly altitudes where he now dwells. Not "through a glass, darkly," but with open vision, he now clearly sees the mysterious that, to us, may still be veiled. May his pure spirit be my guardian through life. I could beg no greater boon from mundane blessings. I know he is yours.

Very cordially,

Your friend,

E. PAYSON WALTON.

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NEW CHURCH CHAPEL,  
Galveston, Texas, Feb. 6, 1896.

MRS. T. L. NUGENT, Forth Worth, Texas:

*Dear Madam*—This is an effort to respond to your solicitation to furnish you with a short sketch of the impressions my friend, your late husband, Judge Thos. L. Nugent, made upon me, as I knew him.

It is my opinion that neither he nor you would care a whit for simply complimentary statements, calculated to tickle the selfhood of ordinary people. It is one of my impressions, therefore, that he would have only that said, in your forthcoming book, that would tend to enlighten, to inspire or provoke men to thought and investigation. Anything, therefore, which would tend to guide the mind of the reader to find the streams of truth that flowed so copiously through his mind from the single fountain of all truth, should not be left unsaid, and all else should be omitted. I shall say, therefore, that:

Judge T. L. Nugent was a reformer from center to circumference. I regard him as an embodiment of the principles he advocated. To know those principles would be to know the man. He stood in a more interior light than it was ever pos-

sible for him to reveal to the people. He spoke to a certain extent in parables. He, no doubt, felt at all times that he had many things to say to them that they could not yet hear. He was moved with compassion towards them. He sought to lead them by a way they knew not. He cared little then, and less now, what people say about him. Self was in nothing he did. He looked upon every good and perfect gift as coming from the Lord alone. To him all things were but signs of the Lord's coming. All changes as but preparations for it. He was, therefore, of all men, a servant of the Lord, and his delight was to do His will. He looked upon the whole human race as being conjoined to the Lord—and this conjunction he called the Divine Humanity. All things were to him a One. Each a part of an organic whole whose soul God is, and whose body is man. He looked, therefore, for a slow but certain redemption for all mankind; for the restitution of all things. His life was a religious life from center to circumference—each and all was religious—all was spiritual. He stood in the center of a great light. He saw its rays reaching out to the outermost or circumference. He looked upon the Natural plane as being the ultimate basis—containment or a vessel to receive the Divine and spiritual life. He saw truth take the form and color of the vessel into which it was poured. He desired, therefore, to set before the Lord noble vessels. He knew very well that he, as well as all men, were but vessels or receptacles of the Divine influence, knew that the vessels must be whole, clean, orderly. He desired, thought and lived in the constant effort to prepare his own mind as a vessel meet for the Master's use. His public life was spent in preparing the social vessels to correspond to heavenly forms—knowing full well that they would be no sooner prepared than filled with the Divine life. This is a short statement of that wonderful philosophy he saw and understood so well, the spirit of which he and many others called "This living and wonderful age." This is why I say he was a reformer from center to circumference.

Populism was the outermost plane—The lowest—the fundamental—the containment of all. That which he saw and felt and lived; the source of his inspiration, his hope, his joy, his



power and his success, was above the plane of the Omaha platform. His mind was interiorly opened to the heavens, and probably thousands and tens of thousands who wrought with him upon this plane have no glimpse of that higher, interior light in which he stood. Therefore they wonder at the "sacrifice he made, etc.," while he well knew he was making no sacrifice, but only living out his love, his faith, his hope and daily ascending and descending to and from this heaven. The sweetest bread he ate was this bread of sacrifice. This wine was the wine of joy, this oil the oil of gladness. He did not believe in organized churches. The only tabernacle God would condescend to abide in was the tabernacle of humanity. He believed that God did abide in every human heart, and that to feed, to clothe and to shelter men, was to feed, clothe and shelter the Lord. To do it not unto them was to do it not unto Him. A glorious religion, a sweet religion, a divine religion. All this and more he learned, from Swedenborg whose works, as well as others of like character who have come after him, he would have his friends read. I here submit an extract from a letter addressed to me, dated March 7, 1895, in which he says, "I do not doubt that the cause of reform is gathering strength in Texas and that it will, in 1896, be triumphant if its leaders are wise and discreet in their management. There is much to be learned by them, both in the matter of practical organization and management and in a just comprehension of the movement itself, or rather of its true philosophical basis. They, however, are moving in the right direction, and best of all, are inspired by an unselfish desire to benefit and uplift humanity. Old, petrified thoughts are rapidly giving place to views more in harmony with the ethical demands of this living and wonderful age. Men, who a few years ago, were moved by the political quackery of the dead and dying old parties, are now digging beneath the surface of things to find and destroy the roots of social and industrial evils—thus to clear the grounds for the sowing of seed for the harvest of the new time. They are faithfully toiling in the politico-economical field and, meanwhile, growing in mental and spiritual stature—so preparing to gather the fruits of victory when it shall come. I have done

no church work for years, believing that the ecclesiastical era is nearing its end and that the coming church is to be a redeemed and glorified social state in which the Lord will stand as the man of the people, the Divine chief of the world's organized industries. This will be the answer to Earth's universal prayer—the fulfillment of her long deferred hope. "Thy Kingdom come."

Yours Fraternally,

A. B. FRANCISCO,

*Minister, New Jerusalem Church*  
Galveston, Tex.

## OPINIONS ON LABOR SUBJECTS

### JUDGE NUGENT AND THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE.

From the time the principles of the Farmers' Alliance first became known to the public, they received Judge Nugent's hearty endorsement. His strong mind, free from prejudice of sect, party or section, subjected the principles of the Alliance to that severe and impartial analysis with which he was accustomed to regard all important questions before announcing his conclusions. In this, as in all things, careful thought preceded his announcement of opinion; and in this matter, as in others, he had the strength of position which only such thoughts can give. His sympathies went with his thought. As an honored citizen of Erath County says of him: "Judge Nugent was a fast friend of the Farmers' Alliance, and proved it by his warmest sympathy for the order and its cherished principles. Often did he meet with them in their annual convocations in his home county, and talk with them on the true principles of reform, in simple speech, but with the matchless logic and classic eloquence peculiar to himself; and this during the time he was District Judge. Frequently the prominent lawyers of his district would remonstrate with him and tell him that the part he was taking would injure his political influence. But he held fast to the cause of reform; and his memory is embalmed in the hearts of all true Alliance people throughout the State; for, at that time, it was truly encouraging to see one of the greatest and purest men of the State encouraging their cause, especially since, being a lawyer, he was not eligible to membership."

That his judgment was correct in thus endorsing the Alliance, there is a strong favoring presumption. The political demands growing out of the ethical principles of the Alliance (the ethical principles were the first to be announced,

and they are still the life principles of the order), have become the platform of a mighty and rapidly growing political party, whose battle cry is, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none." This party already numbers two million voters; and on the great political questions now in discussion by the American public, *they are the best informed* two million voters in the United States, "our enemies themselves being the judges." But, in honor of the Farmers' Alliance it may be truly said, if in all these marshalled hosts advancing to reclaim the lost and ruined heritage bequeathed by patriot ancestors, there is a single man not in sympathy with the grand Declaration of Intentions of the Farmers' Alliance—a single man whose soul has not experienced the regenerating and uplifting force of conscious possession of those principles, that man is not yet ready for the high service of God and man which the People's Party calls its members to perform. The Farmers' Alliance is of God; the Peoples' Party is of the Farmers' Alliance; therefore the People's Party is of God. If the principles of the Farmers' Alliance are not of God, they are not true and they should be denied. If they are true, they are of God and should be accepted; and if what we propose to do under those principles, for individual man and for society at large, is not in accordance with the will of God, it is wrong, and it should not be done; but if what we propose to do for individual man and for society at large, is in accordance with the will of God, it is right and it should be done. The reason that Judge Nugent was with us, is this: He saw that our principles were truth, and were therefore of God. Hence his strength; hence our strength. God help the people to stand on this foundation. Thus standing, nor man, nor devil, nor hell can dispossess us. "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

Judge Nugent is gone, but the impress of his thought and life is on the people. All that we say about him now should tend to deepen that impress. It was only for good; deepen it, and it will be for more and for more extended good. Could he speak to us, he would say: "Write nothing about me but that which will do others good." This we will try to write.

Though he was not a member of the Order (his profession debarring him from membership), yet his character was the embodiment, and his life the expression, of the sublime moral principles taught by the Farmers' Alliance. To those who are unacquainted with these principles, this may sound strange; particularly will it sound strange to those who have no impressions concerning this great Order other than those impressions received from the mistaken utterances of the partisan press or from the empty speech of chattering street gossips. Yet it is true that, in the character and life of this strong, just and lovely man, is seen the exemplification of that which the Alliance, the grandest of all human educative institutions, endeavors to make of each of its members. For ten years the writer has been a member of the Farmers' Alliance. He knows what are the teachings within its closed doors; and he knows what moral sentiments, whether announced in the secret sessions of the Order or from the lecture stand in public, elicit from its members the heartiest responses of approval. I want to vindicate the position of our great ascended reform leader in so strongly approving the Alliance, and, indirectly, through this vindication, I want to strengthen Alliance people in their devotion to their Order. Therefore I most respectfully request a careful perusal of what shall be further said. Do this, and he who has wondered shall cease to wonder, that one so judicious of thought, of such varied and accurate learning, and of such beautiful character—in a word, that one in whom were all the elements of greatness and goodness, should have been so ardent a supporter of the great social movement known as the Farmers' Alliance.

One cannot read Alliance literature without observing the frequent, and often impassioned, presentations of the thought of the inexpressible worthiness, the immeasurable value of a human being, of man as man, irrespective of the accidental circumstances or connections of his life. It may be a thing of wonder that plain men, and, as the world has it, uneducated, should hold in such vivid apprehension, and should be, in their organized effort to better their social condition, so intelligently and so acquiescently under the domination of this

supreme and only completely authoritative thought, of all correct movements in social reform work; especially may it seem strange when this thought, the priceless value of man, seems so generally to have disappeared from the minds—at least from their every-day work—of modern scholars, statesmen and divines. But the wonder ceases when we remember that this is a Bible thought, and that all true Alliance people are Bible people, believing that human governments, institutions resources and possessions count nothing in God's thought save as man—God's co-worker—shall make them contributory to the accomplishment of God's will with reference to individual man, viz., his moral regeneration—his intellectual, social and spiritual elevation; and hence, the reclamation of man from evil and his restoration to good for time and eternity. The Alliance man believes in the fullness of the final influx of the divine into the human through the word, the grace and the spirit of God; but he grasps also the thought, that the divine economy contemplates that the physical (property values in their various uses) and social and civil institutions are to be used as media to aid in the higher developments of man. Easy is the transition from this thought to this other: That if the people are dispossessed of their property values (the products of their labor) as they are now being dispossessed; and if their civil institutions become instrumentalities of wrong and oppression, as now, then we are in conditions that are opposed to personal happiness and higher individual development. Hence our effort to better the financial condition of our people and to improve in knowledge of our government.

We think that the most wonderful truth, next to the incarnation of the Deity, is that which comes to us in the divinely inspired communication, Man was made in the image of God; and, therefore, that the most beautiful, the sublimest object in the universe of created things, is the man whose character and life present to the contemplation of his fellow men, a living illustration of this wonderful Scripture. Perhaps all do not reason about it; but all feel it. This is why we so exalt man; why man, in our scale of measuring values, is of greater worth than gold, "Yea, than much fine gold;" why earthly "Pomp

and circumstance" are of little value in comparison with man; why even one of the poor derided "Spawn of the wayside cabin" is of greater value than ten thousand of the million dollar palaces now becoming so common in our country, marking the dwelling places of vanity, pride, lust and greed; and why every force of nature that the genius of man brings under the control of man, and every resource of nature that God has placed at the command of man, instead of being seized and used by beastly avarice to further the ends of its own base gratifications, should be used by the intelligence, piety and benevolence of men, to secure the improvement, the happiness and the social and individual elevation of man. Infinite possibility! Or possibility of infinite good! Gone from the soul, by sin's defacing hand, is that moral image of God in which the first of our race were created; but back to the soul, never again to be erased, may come the image of its Divine Original. And come it may, and come it must, if ever, through the mystery and suffering of the incarnation, in conjunction with the natural forces (wealth, education, domestic environments, prohibitions and mandates of human governments, etc.) ordained of God and designed, as taught by nature and revelation, to be used in connection with spiritual forces, in restoring to man's soul the lost image of God. Set all forces, spiritual and natural, to the work for which the Bible and Nature tell us they were intended, viz.: Restoring individual man to God, and presently, you redeem society from the evils in which the passions and deeds of men imbruted by worship of mammon have involved it; and soon, in all the earth, becomes a sweet reality that beautiful conception of love in action set forth in the seventh paragraph of the Declaration of the Intentions of the Farmers' Alliance, whose closing sentence is this: "Its laws are reason and equity;" its intentions are "Peace on earth, good will toward men." To this consummation the Alliance is pledged by the chief basic principle of the organization; but the achievement of this consummation can be secured only by the strength and purity of its individual members. We, therefore, insist that there is, that there can be, no conception of right social reform, of which the basic element is not the

immeasurable, yea, the infinite, value of man. Our minds, our souls, must invest this thought with supreme authority; for it is thus, and only thus, that we shall hold all things—the beauty, the glory, the riches of the world; and the thoughts of men and the feelings of men; and whatsoever in heaven we have the right to call to our aid; and whatsoever in the earth Divine love has given us the right to call our own—only, I say, with this conception of man, shall we be able to hold all these things, in heaven and earth, in subordination and contribution to the work of giving man back, reclaimed from evil, saved and happy, to the embrace of God. I am an Alliance man, and am a Christian. No Christian, when he shall know them, can fail to endorse the principles of the Alliance; and no Alliance man, if a true and all around Alliance man, is other than a Christian.

I speak not irreverently, but by authority from God, when I say that the man of high thought, pure feeling, and of noble, brave and generous action, is God-like; and that this man's soul and life are a mirror in which is reflected the image of God. The ocean, as Byron beautifully sings, is the "mirror wherein the Almighty's form glasses itself in tempests;" and the Psalmist says: "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge." There is no place "where their voice is not heard" in clear, impressive utterance, saying: God is; that to God belongeth power; that His wisdom is infinite; that there is no searching of His understanding. Thus the being, power and wisdom of God are revealed by the physical world, but this physical world cannot think; it cannot feel; it cannot act, except as it is acted on. It is incapable of moral reflection, of conscientious moral exaltation, and of moral achievement. It cannot know pity, justice, mercy, love. But moral qualities—as justice, mercy, pity and love—are elements of the Divine character; and these the material universe, however vast in proportion, however resplendent in appearance, however exact and delicate in arrangement, and however beneficent in design, could never mirror. These features of the Divine personality could be



reflected alone in the nature of a rational, sentient, spiritual and immortal being. Such a being is man. He thinks, he feels, he acts. He is capable of rising to immeasurable heights of moral elevation, where not a cloud of impurity obscures the vision of the pure soul, as, in spiritual rapture, it contemplates the unveiled glory of God. He is capable of emulating, on the earth and among men, the sweet charity of the Son of God, as, imbued with "the mind which was also in Jesus Christ," he goes about doing good, his whole life full of tender, loving responses to the sad cries of the poor, the needy, the sorrow stricken. And he is capable of reproducing in his own career the catastrophe, the moral heroism of the cross, as when for his country's, or for truth's, or for God's, sake, on battle field, mid carnage and blood, in defense of his country's rights; or at martyr's stake, enwrapped in devouring flames, in vindication of his soul's faith, or in patient, enduring, and unrequited toil for the neglected, the forgotten poor of the world, he gladly, willingly surrenders his own life. This is to be Christ-like—God-like. This is the character, this the life into which men and angels may look and behold the image of God—the sympathy, the justice, the kind mercy, the dear charity, and, within limitations, the achieving power of God; this character, this life, without which the heart of God could never have been imaged, shown forth in his works; and without which the moral beauty of the Lord our God could never have been known and enjoyed save by himself alone. As these thoughts come upon men, they become, to my mind, the mirrors in which I see the great soul, the beautiful life, the peaceful end of Thomas L. Nugent. No wonder the Alliance is for man. And no wonder Nugent was for the Alliance.

Had evil never invaded the world, then into the soul of man, men and angels might have looked and might have beheld, as in a mirror, the image of God. But evil came. The image of God was effaced. The passions of men were "set on fire of hell;" and they are still "set on fire of hell." Strong language, but Scriptural language—"on fire of hell." Greed of gain robs, steals, impoverishes, kills. Under its blood-reeking banners, lust of power marshals its black column of

death to appropriate to itself that which is not its own, dealing ruin to men, women and children that the fell appropriation may be made. Political corruption defiles the sacred inheritances bequeathed by patriot ancestors. Anon conjugal infidelity covers families in the pitiable habiliments of unspeakable shame. Merciless coveteousness turns innocence and helplessness into the streets to beg or starve; or, as it may be, and often is, to beg and yet to starve. O, let every mouth be stopped and the whole world become guilty before God. Yes, evil came and evil is. But, thank God, Christ came, and Christ is. And Christ came and Christ is, that as sin hath abounded unto the death of all things beautiful true and good, even so might grace reign, through righteousness, unto the eternal life, by Jesus Christ, our Lord. Of all things, beautiful, true and good, Christ is the life; and this—the love of the good, the true and the beautiful—is the life begotten of Christ Christ in the soul of man. And this divine life—the life of love—is in the soul of every true, moral hero in the world, giving back to that soul, in radiant, ineffaceable beauty, the image of God. Hence the Scripture: “Created anew after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness.” And hence, and only hence, is to be realized that end for which the Alliance announces itself to be organized and laboring, and which it states in simpler language, “On earth peace, goodwill toward men.”

The attitudes in which the constitution of nature, or rather God in constituting nature, has placed man as a social being, are multiform. In every one of these attitudes, both those which are inherent in the abstract fact of civilized social existence and those which are the result of the incidental vicissitudes of social life—in every one of these attitudes, of either class, in which an Alliance man may be placed, the obligations of his Order require him to be true to the relation, faithful in the discharge of its duties, and capable in the execution of the demands of the relation. It is a great and efficient school of instruction in which the common people themselves become their own mutual instructors, by lectures, essay reading, and conversation, on the vital, moral, intellectual, social, civil, and

financial questions—subject always to the guiding thought: "Each of us is to be an instrument in the hands of God in introducing the reign of Christ in the world, through which alone is to come the manifestation. On earth peace, good-will toward men."

#### SOME REMARKS CONCERNING THE DECLARATION OF INTENTIONS.

No one knows at all what his own subjective being is, except through consciousness of what he is; and we know not at all what others are, except through our observation of the external expression of themselves. If the moral or ethical principles to which a man says he gives his soul's adherence are uniformly and consistently illustrated in the deeds, the works of his life, then we know, as a rule, that these are the moral principles of the man. Hence we have, as our guide in our judgments of the moral life of men, more their works than their ethical codes. And yet, the code, the declaration of principles, is the standard of comparison; and our intuitive perception of the fitness of things requires, or demands, that the professor of a faith shall live according to that faith, whether it be a religious, or an ethical, or a political faith; and this because the faith confessed is taken as one's declaration of the state, or the condition of one's inner being; and truth requires that the external shall accord with the internal. Hence, in the case of a true and honest man, to know his moral creed is to know his moral life; to know his religious creed is to know his religious life; to know his political creed is to know his political life; to know his social creed is to know his social life; and to know his creed and life in all things, is to know his character. And, indeed, a creed and life in anything involving the exercise of the moral faculties, are a revelation of character.

Now, in so far as a code, or system of ethical principles, from a social standpoint, can reveal the social views and character of its adherents, I commend to the reader the careful perusal of the Declaration of Intentions of the Farmers' Alliance. There he may see in clear, beautiful, undimmed reflection the image of the great and good Thomas L. Nugent, as a social being, that

is, as a member of civilized Christian society—with us, society organized under the auspices of a free Republican government, whose citizens are under the tremendous responsibility of maintaining, directing, and perpetuating that government, preserving order, good will, harmony, justice, charity, and progression among its individual citizens. And as you will behold through this medium the image of our ascended political leader, so you will also behold the character of all true Alliance people.

The first great principle in the creed of the social order, or fraternity, imposes the solemn obligation, "To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit." High thoughts are essential elements of high character. Read the thought again, "To labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit." Now think of the conceptions yet back of this thought, forcing the expression of the thought and making it one of the rules to guide in forming the citizen's character. What are those conceptions? Here are some of them: The sovereignty of the American citizen; the immense responsibilities of that sovereignty; the appalling evils already resulting to American society from the voter's lack of moral and intellectual qualification to meet those responsibilities; the priceless good to flow in uninterrupted streams of blessing to every heart and every home in all the land from the faithful meeting of the duties of citizenship; the ability to meet these duties to be found alone in moral and intellectual qualification; the farmer's occupation represents the most numerous class of voters; therefore we will organize an order, the aim of which shall be to qualify ourselves, in the highest sense, for the solemn duties which the sovereignty of citizenship devolves upon us.

Behold this thought, together with its sublime correlations, and you see one of the strong, pure and beautiful columns in the temple of the character of every true Alliance man. But observe the caution with which we teach the member to conduct the study of government. It is to be done in a "non-partisan spirit." The just person goes to the Bible to learn what Christians ought to be; so the just person should come to this Decla-

ration of Intentions to learn what Alliance people ought to be. And as we cannot reject religion because some of its professors do not conform their lives to its precepts, so we ought not to condemn the Alliance because the lives of some of its members are not in harmony with the teachings of the Alliance. We know the danger of partisan spirit; and we therefore take special pains to exclude it from our order, that we may secure unprejudiced investigation in questions pertaining to our government, its nature, correct administration, etc. We dread the virus of partisanism.

The third principle requires all possible effort in the great work of mutual, moral, social and financial improvement of the agricultural classes. What higher work can engage the efforts of man?

We insist on the financial improvement of the people, not, however, as an end in itself, but as a means whereby may be secured the intellectual, moral, social and spiritual improvement of the people. We see that God has conditioned the improvement of the people in all these respects on the possession and the right use of wealth. We see that the laboring people are the producers of all the wealth; but we see also that, of all classes, they have the least of those opportunities, purchased by wealth, which are necessary conditions for the cultivation of the highest and noblest states of being; and that they have the least of those surroundings, or environments—also to be purchased by wealth—that happily domestic life. Our people, therefore, naturally conclude that an undue proportion of their earnings has passed into other hands; and that it is their duty to themselves and their families to change, if possible, this state of things. Already the country knows, from the "demands of the Farmers' Alliance," the conclusions to which their investigations have led the members of this Order. They propose to stand by these demands. While the imagination is staggered in its efforts to grasp the proportions of the colossal fortunes of multi-millionaires; while eloquent lips essay in vain to portray the wreck and ruin this unnatural accumulation of the results of the labor of the millions of American laborers into the hands of a few individuals has brought throughout the land in the

form of wrecked homes, blighted hopes, saddened hearts, dwarfed minds through lack of opportunity of improvement, immorality forced into character by the foul accompaniments of extreme and hopeless poverty; and while the soul shudders in the presence of all this disaster, yet we have faith in our demands. We believe that, finally, these shall become laws; and that thus the vast wealth produced by the people which now goes to increase the fortunes of the few, will be saved to the people themselves; and that cultivated minds, happy hearts, beautiful homes, social culture, schools and churches, and all the blessings that ought to belong to an industrious people, living under a free and enlightened government, will be the heritage of all our people.

This paper would be too lengthy were we to quote all these seven principles, and give to each the notice its importance demands. We can only refer the reader to the By-Laws and Constitution of the Farmers' State Alliance. He will find them in full in their printed form, on the second page of the pamphlet.

The good that has already resulted to the country from the teachings and fellowship of this noble order cannot be told. Would to God that there were a sub-alliance in every farming community in the United States. How rapidly would the farmers and their families become improved "mentally, morally, socially, and financially." What a source of pleasure, of refining and elevating communion.

Judge Nugent understood the grand ethical principles on which this great fraternity is established, and comprehended the beneficent ends it proposed to accomplish for the laboring people, and, therefore, he gave to it his heartfelt sympathy and support; and because he thus bravely stood by our order, encouraged and helped us, we give to him that place in our hearts and memory which we assign alone to our honored, revered and beloved dead. He was our friend; he was humanity's friend. We mourn his loss; but God has taken him unto Himself. Sweet rest to his pure spirit.

DR. MARSHALL MCILHANY.

## VIEWS ON THE LAND QUESTION.

To the philosopher, jurist, patriot, and philanthropist, this must ever be a question of overshadowing importance. The most momentous interests of man's mortal existence are inseparably connected with land. The vastness of its proportions precludes, in ordinary minds, its proper appreciation, its adequate comprehension. Its very stupendousness prevents a clear conception, a correct judgment. Men cannot think clearly on infinite space, endless duration, or the self-existence of God. Such things are too vast for the finite mind. They become vague and difficult of apprehension as they rise more to the view, and approach nearer to the infinite. Land being the physical basis of man's life, the workshop in which he toils and the storehouse from which he draws his every need, is as indispensable to his existence as is the atmosphere or the light. True, the deprivation of air is more sudden in its fatality, but not more sure. Cut off from him the products of land, and starvation will cause his death as surely as will the denial of air to his lungs. And if a total deprivation of land and its products will surely destroy, then anything that partially deprives will proportionately destroy. This theme is too stupendous to be treated here.

To Judge Nugent's mind, land monopoly loomed up among questions of importance as Mont Blanc among lesser Alps, or Shasta from the black forests of northern California. To him it had no rival. It dwarfed, overshadowed, nay, it annihilated in ultimate and fundamental import all other questions that touch man's right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To his philosophic eye it

"Dared, though grim and terrible, to thrust  
Its miscreated front athwart the way"

to man's earthly Eden. In it he saw, and saw clearly, "That which enthralls and degrades and distorts, turning light into darkness and good into evil." From history, reflection and observation he deduced one important conclusion—that man has ever tyrannized over his fellows. With the simplicity of

childhood, yet with the sagacity of the philosopher, he thought to detect the means by which this had been done. He read, he reflected, he observed; he elicited and weighed the opinions of men, and after much patient and profound study, he adopted as his firm belief that the land question indeed presents "The riddle of the Sphinx, not to answer which is to be destroyed." Finance, in his estimation, was vast. It was inevitable; it was pressing; it clamored for recognition, for treatment, for solution; in short, it would brook no delay. Hence his speeches, his written opinions, his suggestions, his movements, bore directly, heavily, on the money question. The transportation question also assumed huge proportions in his view. With his tender conscience, his quick perception of right, his ready revolt against injustice, he speedily and instinctively saw through the special pleadings, the cunning subterfuges, the ingenious devices, by means of which the railroads and telegraphs have appropriated countless millions of the people's land and money. He comprehended how their enormous aggregations of wealth were acquired, were but appropriations of the fruits of labor done by other hands. All these truths were clear to his mind, as is shown elsewhere in this volume. But to the land question did he look in his search for the root and ultimatum of the rights and wrongs of man. In its solution, he declared, when unbosoming himself to men able to follow, understand and appreciate him, would be found the full measure of man's power to secure good and and to suffer evil in mortal life.

His views may be stated thus:

He believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. That all men are equally the heirs of God's bounty and the subjects of His care.

That man's every faculty can be harmlessly exercised, his every desire innocently gratified, his every want abundantly satisfied, through simple obedience to the laws ordained by his Creator. That God has made no mistakes; is no bungler. Hence when he created sunlight, air and land, he made enough for all the children of men living, or that will ever live upon the earth.



That while laying on man the necessity to labor in order to satisfy his wants, He has graciously furnished him the material for labor. This material is embraced in the term land. By "land" he understood "all substances of our world, from the lowest depths beneath the surface to the highest realms in air to which man's dominion can extend."

That this "material for labor," this "land," in the above broad sense, can never fail, can never fall short in supply, never become inadequate to the designs of its omniscient and omnipotent Creator and Giver.

That there has ever been, is and always will be, an inexhaustible abundance of land for all of man's real needs.

That all men have an equal and inalienable right to the use of land, and that any tradition, custom or power that denies or prevents this right is morally wrong.

That a bounty of nature, as air, light, land, cannot by any process become private property. That only the products of labor, physical or mental, may be justly so claimed and owned. That occupancy and use only can give title to land; and that the title thus conveyed is not one of ownership but of possession. That this title protects the possessor in the full ownership, use and property of all that his efforts produce on the land. He can sell, or lease, or bequeath, or remove, or destroy, the improvements, but not the bare land.

In the history of the race, he viewed man in his resistless movements to a higher plane. He saw that each epoch raises and settles its own issues. That progress is merely the outgrowing and casting behind one error or wrong after another and the adoption of truth and right instead. Thus religious freedom, trial by jury, freedom of speech, taxation with representation, popular government and individual liberty were the natural steps in the order of advance from priestcraft, despotism and slavery.

What does all this signify? To Nugent's mind, it meant that all men are created equal. Not in degree of physical or mental endowment, but in rights. The right to live, to pursue happiness, to be free. The right to receive with equal advantage and fullness the blessings of the common Father.

Testing the economic conditions of his time by this central truth of God's equal care for all the children of His creation, he perceived their utter failure, their incongruity, their falseness, their injustice, their cruelty, their wrong. As was said of Victor Hugo in one's criticism of "Les Miserables," "His seemed the glance of an almost super-mortal eye from some great height, over the vast sea of human sorrow." He saw industry perverted, and God's universal bounties limited to a small number. He beheld a world, capable of yielding its rich gifts in unlimited fullness to every human being, so occupied, used, or rather unused, and monopolized as to surfeit the few and to stint or starve the many.

In all forms of government, monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, ancient, mediaeval and modern, he found these ghastly conditions manifesting themselves in proportion, not to the accidents of climate, nor to the legal codes, nor the religious systems in them prevailing, but in proportion to the degree in which land is monopolized and men are cut off from their right of access to it. Believing that "the force of a state is in proportion to population, population in proportion to plenty, plenty in proportion to tillage, and tillage to personal and immediate interest, that is to the spirit of property, he judged that the nearer a citizen is to the condition of a free and entire proprietor, the more he contributes to the general prosperity of the state." He reasoned out some profoundly important conclusions. These conclusions rendered him universally philanthropic and deeply politico-economic. In recognizing man's right to land, he clearly perceived the rights of labor. In short, he saw in the land question the ethics and the economics of human rights. Convinced of truth, his was not the soul to be silent upon it nor to hesitate in his advocacy of it. This he did with a skill equalled only by his prudence. The value of land he declared to result from population. This value, created by the labors and wants of population, he thought belonged of right to the people, and should be taken by them and used for public purposes. His formula was:

Land without people, actual or prospective, has no money value.

Without people, there is no need of revenue.

With people also arises land value or economic rent.

This need, accompanied as it always is with the land value, should be satisfied, the one with and by the other, since both are due to the same cause—the presence of population.

I have heard him say, "Every man, woman and child in the community aids in affixing value to, and maintaining it upon land," and when asked how he would explain or illustrate that general statement, he replied:

Every one produces or consumes. The most helpless human being necessarily consumes, from the cradle to the grave. While all consume, many produce. Every living person needs to be fed, clothed and sheltered, Land is indispensable to the supply of these needs. Now if land is valued in proportion to the wants it can satisfy, and it can satisfy more wants when densely populated than when thinly populated, the people by their use of land give rise to its value, not by owning but by using it. Now all people must use land; for all have to be fed, clothed and sheltered. The fewer the people who own the land, the higher the price may be fixed which the users have to pay. One man owning all the lands of the island on which New York City stands could extort more for their use than can be charged at present, because of his monopoly."

Hence he would advocate the raising of revenue from this source, the annual rental value, the ground rent for economic rent, this creation of the people. He thought it the proper, because the only just, source of revenue. He deemed this unearned increment of land value the rightful property of all the people. But the taxing of personal property he thought, and declared to be, an act of communism. It is, as he thought, the taking of private property and the making of it public property. This is communism, While to take land value, which is made by all the people, and use it for all the people as revenue, is strictly just.

He studied the history and statistics of taxation and saw that the vast natural deposits and sources of wealth, such as minerals and forests, evidently the gifts of the great Creator of all, are seized on by the few to the disinheriting of the many.

With the glow of righteous indignation in his eyes he once said to me :

“ Why should the absentee owners of timber lands, coal beds and iron mines, these three only, receive in royalties each year \$450,000,000 on their products, though neither doing nor directing the labor of taking them out? Why should coal, iron and timber, needful to all and given to all, become the property of these idlers and be so restricted, so enhanced in cost, as to largely cut off the children of men from their possession and use?”

Thus did this unselfish and just soul rise above the mists that blind mercenary eyes, and from the plans of the absolute rule see the cruelty and wrong inseparable from the making of land private property.

Referring to the royalties derivable from all natural sources of wealth, which he said ought to be paid, by those who were permitted to monopolize them, into the treasury of the public, where they would benefit all, he believed these royalties would amount to a sum sufficient :

1. For all the needs of government, national, state, county and municipal.
2. To educate every child reared in the Union.
3. To support every lunatic, idiot and insane person.
4. To provide respectable and respected homes for every unfortunate human being unable to earn a living.
5. To construct, maintain and operate all needed public utilities, as light, sewers, water, transportation, libraries, museums, etc.
6. To diffuse the blessings of a glorious civilization throughout the realm, bringing the joys of closely associated life within reach of farmer, stockman, miner, factory operative and others, so that no one would need to be isolated from the happiness enjoyable in being heir to all that the art of men can provide for human well-being.

Indeed, he believed in possibilities of good to the entire people, by means of freeing personal property from all tax burdens and placing them on land-values, to an extent that he seldom referred to even in private, save to men of advanced and

enlightened views. Others, he knew, were wholly incapable of understanding them. The system he believed in, he thought, would simplify and cheapen government. Revenue thus raised would free labor from the crushing burdens now borne in the form of poll-tax, occupation tax, tariff duties and the expenses necessary to the support of custom houses, revenue cutters, baggage searchers, spies and understrappers, those costly appendages that under the specious pretense of protecting American labor and raising revenue, rob the people annually of millions of dollars of which one-fifth finds its way into the treasury.

Such were the views of our departed leader. He held them clearly, firmly in his mind and soul. But Judge Nugent was no enthusiast, no dreamer of impossibilities, no introducer of moves impracticable in the passing hour. His was the full conception and appreciation of the reform needed. His was also the solid judgment able to perceive the difficulty in the way of its immediate accomplishment. His was the rational desire to do all that could be done and to prepare the way for doing more as opportunity should offer. Feeling that the people needed light on the great questions that are pressing for solution, he strove to afford as much as possible by his example, his precepts, his character, his life. Knowing the deep and tenacious hold which the money question had taken on the popular heart, he mastered for their instruction, its intricacies, its history, its statistics. These he set before them in those matchless addresses which even the opposing partisan has been heard to declare absolutely without flaw.\*

Often, too, he would make a luminous declaration on the great question of land, as it were, incidentally, but with important design, viz.: to instruct on that point even when the main issue under discussion was money, or transportation, or tariff, or something other than land. In this there was seen the true tactician. While showing the robberies which char-

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\* NOTE—I heard a learned legal light of the Democratic party declare that he had read three times through the speech delivered at Island Creek, on ———— and was unable to find within it a single position that could be successfully assailed.

acterize our financial system, or our railway system, he would briefly, but clearly, lift the curtain which conceals from popular view the more cruel robberies of our land system. This he would do in obedience to the wise suggestion:

“Men must be taught as though you taught them not,  
And things unknown be told as things forgot.”

I have set forth a brief summary of Judge Nugent's views on the land question. I have stated them in terms of precision as I understood them. But let no one deem from their contrariety to those which generally prevail that he sought to press them arbitrarily or indiscreetly upon the adoption or even the attention of the people. Realizing that an intelligent grasp of a great truth is the prerequisite to its successful application, his advocacy on this point was educative and preparatory. He ardently desired the people to bless themselves through the means of land reform, but he desired that this blessing should come in answer to their understanding, their appreciation, their demand. Hence the significance of the explanation which he gave me of his intended treatment of the land question, should he be elected governor of the state. This he gave me on the occasion of his last speech in Hillsboro. Wearing from that effort he had lain down after dinner, and while resting he answered me on that point.

“Our system is fixed,” said he, “and my duties will be simply to administer the land laws, as I trust I shall do other laws, faithfully, inflexibly, impartially. But it will be my duty to recommend to the legislature such measures and such action as public interest may demand. Believing, as I do, in the inherent viciousness of our present system of taxation, I would deem it my duty to point out its defects and to invite inquiry into the claims of a better system. Such I deem that outlined in the works of Henry George. In furtherance of such idea, I would urge the appointment by the legislature of a tax commission to whom should be assigned the duty of making a full investigation of that subject, with all necessary advantages of time, means and opportunities. The information thus obtained I would wish to have published for the

people, in order that they might learn the truth on this great question, and of their own sovereign volition demand its reform." How progressive, yet how conservative! How zealous in his own views, yet how jealous of the rights of the people to manage their affairs in their own way! How loyal to the Jeffersonian, the truly Democratic idea that there is nothing to be feared from error so long as truth is left free to combat it!

Finally, I give it as my deliberate opinion that while profoundly convinced of the radical and incurable wrongs inherent in and inseparable from our system of land tenure, that no man in the Union would have surpassed him in the steadfastness of purpose with which he would, as governor, have cleaved to his duty of administering and executing the laws as they stand, while no one, perhaps, would be more clear, brave and outspoken in pointing out their wrong and urging the proper and just, legitimate and practicable methods to amend or abolish.

A reformer he was, but not a revolutionist; an educator, not an iconoclast; a moulder who, with artistic touch and the inspiration of an idealist, would shape the plastic material falling into his hands into lovelier and more enduring forms; and not a dynamiter, who would first blow existing politico-economic ideas, institutions and forms into fragments and hope afterwards to reconstruct the disintegrated material into those shapes dreamed of in the mind of the socialist or the anarchist. No one, after knowing his character could fear to trust him. No one need fear the philosophy of his views on the land question. No one who is intelligently informed on that system can fear that any wrong or injustice can grow out of it. A philosophy that exists to-day and stands unanswered and unanswerable because of its exposure of those qualities of wrong, cruelty, and injustice that in our present system always have led to the hopeless pauperization of the millions and the engorged enrichment of the few called millionaires, can never be invoked to aid or abet an act or principle of injustice. The opposition to this philosophy has not its root in any fear that it will work injustice. Nay verily, it rather springs from the consciousness that this same philosophy will overthrow the very seat on which

injustice has sat enthroned from before the foundation of our government. Feeling this, the opponents of this philosophy dare not discuss it. Hence the conspiracy of silence that broods over it. But it lives. It moves. It breathes. It shines. It grows apace. Nugent is dead. His frail frame is enclosed in its narrow house. But his thoughts, his conceptions, his reasonings, his conclusions, live and are immortal. His love of humanity, his sympathy for the poor, the toiling, the wronged and robbed of earth, can be seen and felt in all that he wrote or spoke while he lived.

This sympathy is impressed on the hearts and consciences of the great common people whose rights he defended and whose wrongs he mourned. They know, they cannot but know, that Nugent's views on the land question, as on all other questions, were views that conform thoroughly to the principles of God Almighty's everlasting justice, evinced, declared, enforced in His own eternal Word: "The land is mine, and shall not be sold forever, and ye are only strangers and sojourners in the land."

J. G. H. BUCK.

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#### JUDGE NUGENT AND THE LABOR UNIONS.

It has been said, that the literature of an age is the reflex of the times. If this be true, what a picture can be drawn in the imaginative minds of those who succeed us as they turn and peruse the pages of writings in the closing years of the Nineteenth Century—what a spirit of unrest, a changing of ideals, and associated with this, a new seeking after truth and its relation to man's welfare—mentally, physically, spiritually. The pages will be crowded with a recital of man's inhumanity to man, alongside of a truly Christ-like spirit, wherein will be truly practiced, as well as preached, the strange new doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man that found its strongest teacher in the lowly Nazarene nearly 2000 years ago. Along with the law of cause and effect, we find the reason for the existence of organizations and unions. Our form of government, founded upon a principle of justice to all, has yet strangely fostered the



competitive system—the curse of the age, and the beginning of the miseries that, like the folds of a monster serpent, are drawing closer and deadlier with each succeeding year. Millionaires are evolved that multiply themselves by the thousands to represent the pauper. The laborer, in self-defense, must needs organize his unions and co-operative associations by means of which alone he can make known his wrongs, or demand his rights.

With the aims and efforts of all these unions to advance or ameliorate the conditions of the workingmen, Judge Nugent was in fullest sympathy. The Farmers' Alliance, the Knights of Labor, the Brotherhoods of Railway-men, Printers, Mechanics, Brick-layers, Stone-masons, etc.,—in short, every organization for the purpose of protecting the interests of the laboring man—had in him a friend.

Among the principles enunciated by these unions, they declare "that the public lands are the heritage of the people." They demand, "the abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon Capital and Labor;" "the adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, etc.;" "the enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employes weekly, in lawful money;" "the prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years in workshops, mines and factories;" "that a graduated income tax be levied;" "to secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work;" "to shorten the hours of labor;" "the establishment of a national monetary system in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue direct to the people, without the intervention of banks."

These demands are but the outcries of the oppressed against wrongs endured. The first minor notes of woe have gained in strength and volume until they have drowned the tones of pleasure, and from sea to sea, from lake to Gulf, there is heard only the cries of despair from the man, strong in his sense of right and justice: the frenzied tones of mothers and the oft-times hungry pleadings of innocent childhood. It goes without saying that Judge T. L. Nugent was in sympathy with all these demands. He did not need to study them—to analyze

them—as to whether he could receive them in part or in whole. While his well trained legal mind could quickly grasp them as just and true, that well-directed innate consciousness of truth and justice, that was a part of his personality, reached out to these principles, recognizing them as parts of a stupendous whole, and they became to him parts of his religious life, beautiful in its desires, grand in its ultimate results. His religion was not one to be satisfied with Ego saved, while a world, his brethren, travailed in oppression and groaned under sorrows. It is one of the beautiful consistencies of a well-rounded life that holds within itself Kaleidoscopic manifestations, that whichever way the lenses are adjusted, we behold order and prismatic brilliancy. In whatever light, from whatever point of view, was shown the character of our leader, there was always to be seen attributes of greatness that challenged admiration; and withal, such modesty that accompanies the great in soul, as to silence even an opponent's envy. His life was a sublime object lesson to be conned in the heart of every youth toiling for bread in whatever avocation. The farmer boy, despondent over conditions where more work brings deeper poverty, will look to his teachings as a factor resulting, in time, for good to all. The toiling mechanic, feeling the bond of sympathy which lay between this Patriot and all who wrought of brain, or hand, takes heart, even in gloomiest despair.

How significant of his singleness of heart, that he advocated no measures for mere vain-glory, or in a partisan spirit. He had faith in the principles of the Labor Unions, not only because of their justice, but because of his belief in the principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number," and because of the individual benefits sought for the humblest laborer, overworked in hours and responsibility, with quivering nerves, trembling at the frowns of plutocracy, and dreading dire results. In these conditions, that Christ-like soul felt were individual reasons, multiplied into tens of thousands over our land, for better conditions. Life was to him no gala day to be spent in the sunshine with brightness and the richness of life's treasures. As his last words implied, it was taking upon himself a duty wherein he walked in shadows and clothed himself

in habilaments of mourning for a nation's wrong-doing. His was the torture of a refined soul which, recognizing sorrows took them into a loving heart where they nested. It is a shame of our boasted civilization, that conditions exist that become as horrors to those who behold and seek to remedy them. That the weighing down of vitality, the exhaustion of nerve force, which he suffered was due to the fact that Judge Nugent lived and felt all these horrors, no one who ever knew the man will for a moment doubt. He took those woes and griefs, toils and cares to his great heart and under the burden it broke. And a cause has been baptized to consecration with the life blood of a great and good, pure and true man. Of him it may be truly said, "He walked with God."

DR. ELLEN LAWSON DABBS.



## SPEECHES AND COMMUNICATIONS.

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### THE ISSUE DEFINED.

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Hon. T. L. Nugent, People's Party Candidate for Governor, lays bare  
the Existing Political, Social and Financial Evils

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### THAT HAVE THROTTLED OUR PROSPERITY.

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A Speech Teeming with Evidence of the Poverty, Oppression and Down-  
trodden Condition of Our People.

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“Let us have peace,” said Grant nearly two decades ago. The sentiment sent a thrill of sympathy through every Southern heart. It was fondly believed that this language of the great Union general, whose magnanimous treatment of our own Lee had given him a warm place in the affections of our people, would serve to mark the beginning of a new era of peace and fraternity between the divided sections of our common country. And, indeed, if the politicians could have been quieted, this patriotic expectation would long since have been realized. Party success, however, had become the end of party organization and endeavor, the public good a matter of secondary importance, and with the decay of the old time devotion to principles, since those memorable words were spoken, the demagogues have continued periodically to swarm to the front,

filling the political world with partisan clamor and strife, reviving and fanning into fresh fury half-forgotten animosities of the past and driving from the arena of political action the really great men who might now successfully lead the old parties in the crisis through which the country is passing. A great thinker has said that "as institutions grow large, men grow small." It is so. The "rule of the ring" has been supreme in this republic of ours for the past thirty years and he who can manipulate most skillfully the political machine secures the prizes of public life, the offices and spoils. Great men no longer lead the old parties because great men are men of soul, of humanity, of genius, of inspiration. They are never machine men. Fitted by nature to soar amid the stars, they cannot sprawl in the gutter or court companionship with slime. Capable men are no doubt working the party machines for the usual rewards, but the times demand great men to mould the elements of reform into proper shape, and they will come as the inspiration finds them amid the ranks of the common folk. The farmer of to-day is a reasoning and thinking man, rejoicing in a new-found intellectual strength of which but lately he did not dream. Moreover, he has developed into an orator as well, and his rude and touching eloquence flaming forth from heart and brain burning with a sense of injustice and wrong, stirring the hearts of plain people as they were never stirred before. Behold the leaders of that new crusade against conditions that make virtue impossible and against inequalities that stamp labor with the curse of all the ages!

Meanwhile leaders of democracy, who have inherited from Jefferson nothing but a few well-worn formulas of speech, and leaders of republicanism, to whom the humanity and unique greatness of Lincoln have value only in firing the hearts of the faithful and impelling them to renewed efforts for party success, marshal their political hosts on the two sides of the sectional line where every four years they stand in solid array, glaring at each other with the old-time hate gleaming in their eyes. This has been the unhappy political status for thirty years. The South can always be trusted for her votes by Wall street democracy, but never for a place on the national ticket. Con-

tributing the funds, Wall street has always claimed the right to dictate the candidates and the financial policy of the country, and thus, from Seymour to Cleveland, so-called sound finances and the business interests of the country have, on the election of candidates, been matters of chief concern to the party leaders. Wall street must, at any cost, be appeased. The big bankers and money lenders, the stock jobbers, the men who bull and bear the market, must be kept in good humor, must, indeed, be satisfied that their special privileges are not to be taken from them, otherwise campaign funds must dwindle and party success be jeopardized.

Thus both parties have tacitly agreed to ignore the silver issue and leave the gold standard intact. What does Wall street care for the tariff question, so long as she controls the finances? With even free trade, control of the money of the country would give her control of the prices, control of wages, of usury, of the property and the labor of the country. What more could she have under protection? But parties must have issues, and the tariff and bloody shirt issues are, of all issues, least of all hurtful to Wall street. Hence it is that the old quarrel over the tariff and the force bill is to be renewed, while the money kings rub their hands gleefully and watch with delight the "sham battle" whose "clamor" drowns the cry of distress that comes from the farm, the workshop and the factory. Labor is in chains, while the politicians, are skurrying over the country repeating political platitudes, holding up tariff schedules in one hand and the "bloody shirt" in the other, vainly endeavoring to head off the moving column of reform as it advances to victory. It will not win. Kansas, where the preliminary battles of the great civil war were fought, recently gave a lesson of reconciliation and peace in the nomination of an ex-member of Lee's staff for congressman-at-large—a nomination in a People's party convention, and seconded by 172 ex-Union veterans. The second great lesson was given at Omaha, when, in the greatest convention of this convention year, the gallant, maimed ex-Confederate, Field, was named for second place on the People's party ticket. The third great lesson will come next November, when the noble, magnanimous

people of the North and South, thrilled by the examples of Kansas and Omaha into forgetfulness of the war and its animosities, shall rise to the height of the great occasion and call Weaver and Field to preside over the destinies of this great republic.

But why, let me ask, is Wall street so deeply interested in any political action touching financial questions? The answer does not lie very far off. At the termination of our unfortunate civil war there was in actual circulation among the people of the United States \$1,863,409,216 of paper money in various forms, interest bearing and non-interest bearing. Among this currency were included the greenbacks—something over \$400,000,000—which bore no interest and soon after the war rapidly appreciated in value from 46 to 71 per cent as measured by gold value. At this time the people of the United States, except in the South, where the desolations of civil war had carried poverty into every home, were enjoying almost unexampled prosperity. The spirit of enterprise and speculation pervaded all ranks of society; money sought investment in useful industries; labor was employed and tramps were unknown. Secretary McCullough, an apostle of the "single gold standard," said, in his report of December, 1865, "We have about \$2,000,000,000, nearly all in circulation among the people;" and again in the same report says: "Business is nearly all done on a cash basis, the people are generally out of debt, those who want work can get it at good wages, all branches of business are flourishing, and the people are prosperous and happy." The secretary here describes almost an ideal social and industrial condition, and, strange to say, refers to that condition as affording a favorable opportunity to retire our paper circulation and prepare for the resumption of specie payments. On December 18, 1865, the house of representatives passed this resolution in response to McCullough's recommendation:

"Resolved, That this house cordially concurs in the views of the secretary of the treasury in relation to the necessity of a contraction of the currency, etc.," and afterward, on April 12, 1866, passed the act which, together with the act of March



3, 1865, made provision for the withdrawal and destruction of the paper circulation and the funding of it in interest-bearing bonds. Under these two acts \$363,409,226 were thus retired and funded; and by the year 1870 only \$691,028,377 of the vast sum in circulation just after the war remained in use among the people. Indeed, this vast contraction was, in the main, effected prior to February 4, 1868, when congress passed the act forbidding a further reduction of the currency. Now, it will doubtless surprise our democratic friends to learn that the act of 1866, under which this policy was chiefly made effectual, was passed by the following vote: Senate, yeas 32, nays 7; house, yeas 83, nays, 54. Only five democratic votes were cast in the senate, all yeas—the nay votes being all republican. In the house 28 democrats voted yea, and only one nay; while 53 republicans voted nay; same number yea. Could responsibility for a vicious and fatal policy be more clearly made out? The republicans were equally divided in the house. The one single democratic vote cast against the act would, therefore, have defeated it had not 28 democrats come to the relief of the bankers and money lenders by voting in the affirmative. The effects of the policy thus fastened upon the country have been calamitous beyond human estimation. But it did not stop with the passage of this act. The principal of the bonds into which the circulating paper money had been thus converted at an enormous discount, and the interest of which was payable in coin, was, by the act of March 18, 1869, declared to be payable in “coin or its equivalent.”

Thus the bonds of the government were enhanced in value about 25 per cent.—the difference between coin and the paper money in which, prior to this act, they were payable—and thus the bond holders received from the government a mere gratuity of more than \$400,000,000. But the bond holders required something more than a statutory declaration—their right must be placed beyond question, and so we find a servile Congress, on July 14, 1870, enacting the funding bill “which authorized the sale or exchange at par for the other bonds of \$15,000,000 of interest bearing bonds to run ten, twenty and thirty years with interest and principal payable in coin. Having thus se-

cured the exchange of their bonds, payable, as many believe, in lawful money, notwithstanding the credit strengthening act for bonds expressly payable in coin, the next step was to make the latter payable in gold and this the bond holders effected by the acts of 1873 and 1874, which first eliminated the standard silver dollar from the coinage of the country and afterward demonetized it. The infamous conspiracy was finally completed and made effectual by the resumption act which still further contracted the currency and placed the business, the property and the labor of the country in the hands of a concentrated money power in whose interest the government has been since run. The blighting and devastating effects of this whole policy can best be seen from the following tables showing the annual circulation, number of annual mercantile failures and the decline in prices:

## CIRCULATION PER CAPITA.

YEAR.	POPULATION.	CIRCULATION.	PER CAPITA.
1865.....	26,000,000	\$1,639,127,386	\$70.77
1866.....	35,819,281	1,863,409,216	52 01
1867.....	36,269,502	1,350,949,218	37 51
1868.....	37,016,949	794,756,112	21 47
1869.....	37,779,800	730,705,639	19 34
1870.....	38,558,371	691,028,377	18 70
1871.....	39,750,073	670,344,147	16 89
1872.....	40,978,607	661,641,365	16 14
1873.....	42,245,110	652,896,762	15 45
1874.....	43,550,756	632,032,773	14 51
1875.....	44,896,705	630,427,609	14 04
1876.....	46,284,344	620,316,970	13 40
1877.....	47,714,828	586,328,074	12 28
1878.....	48,955,306	549,540,087	11 23
1879.....	50,155,783	534,124,248	10 65
1880.....	51,660,456	528,524,267	10 23
1881.....	53,210,269	610,632,433	11 48
1882.....	54,806,577	657,124,084	11 97
1883.....	56,550,714	648,205,895	11 48
1884.....	58,144,235	591,476,978	10 17
1885.....	59,888,562	533,405,001	8 90
1886.....	61,685,218	470,452,221	7 63
1887.....	63,535,774	423,452,221	6 67
1888.....	65,000,000	398,719,212	6 10
1890.....	65,000,000	306,999,982	4 72

## FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The failures in the United States from 1865 to 1889 were:

Year.	Number.	Liabilities.
1865.....	520	\$ 17,625,000
1866.....	632	47,333,000
1867.....	2,780	96,666,000
1868.....	2,608	63,694,000
1870.....	3,551	88,244,000
1871.....	2,915	85,252,000
1872.....	4,069	121,036,000
1873.....	5,183	228,499,000
1874.....	5,830	155,239,000
1875.....	7,740	201,000,000
1876.....	9,092	191,117,000
1877.....	8,872	190,669,000
1878.....	10,478	234,483,132
1879.....	6,658	98,149,053
1880.....	4,735	65,552,000
1881.....	5,582	86,155,935
1882.....	6,738	102,000,000
1883.....	9,184	172,874,172
1884.....	10,968	226,343,427
1885.....	11,211	267,348,264
1886.....	12,292	229,288,238
1887.....	12,042	335,121,888
1888.....	13,348	247,659,956
1889.....	13,277	312,496,742
Total.....	162,338	\$8,945,598,824

The above table will not agree with Bradstreet because he does not include failures for less than \$10,000. We have included all in the table given, and have added a per cent. for failures compromised or settled.

## RECAPITULATION.

Calendar Year.	Total Production Bushels.	Total Area of Crops Acres.	Total Value of Crops.
1867 . . . .	1,329,729,400	65,636,444	\$1,184,037,300
1868 . . . . .	1,550,789,000	66,715,906	4,150,500,583
1869 . . . . .	1,491,612,100	69,557,766	1,101,884,188
1870 . . . . .	1,629,027,600	69,254,016	697,423,018
1871 . . . . .	1,528,776,100	65,061,951	911,845,441
1872 . . . . .	1,664,331,680	68,280,197	874,594,459
1873 . . . . .	1,538,892,891	74,112,137	919,217,273
1874 . . . . .	1,454,180,200	80,051,289	1,015,530,570
1875 . . . . .	2,032,235,300	86,863,178	1,030,277,099
1876 . . . . .	1,963,422,100	93,920,619	935,008,844
1877 . . . . .	2,178,934,646	93,150,286	1,035,571,078
1878 . . . . .	2,302,255,950	100,956,260	913,975,920
1879 . . . . .	2,437,482,300	112,260,950	1,234,127,719
1880 . . . . .	2,718,193,501	120,926,285	1,361,497,704
1881 . . . . .	2,066,029,570	122,388,070	1,470,959,200
1882 . . . . .	2,699,394,496	126,568,520	1,479,693,393
1883 . . . . .	2,629,319,688	100,633,556	1,780,765,937
1884 . . . . .	2,992,880,000	136,292,766	1,184,311,520
1885 . . . . .	3,015,429,000	135,876,080	1,143,146,750
1886 . . . . .	2,842,379,000	141,859,656	1,162,161,810
1887 . . . . .	2,660,457,000	141,821,315	1,204,289,370
1888 . . . . .	3,209,742,000	146,281,000	1,320,255,398

Especial attention is called to the above table of recapitulation. It shows that in 1867, 65,636,000 acres in cultivation produced 1,329,729,000 bushels of all kinds of grain which sold for \$1,184,000,000; while in 1887, twenty years subsequent, 141,821,000 acres produced 2,660,457,000 bushels which sold for only \$1,204,289,000. That is, the product of 1867, from less than one-half as many acres and half the amount, brought the farmer \$79,711,000 more. It is impossible to charge this wholesale destruction of values to over-production. It was a want of ability to purchase caused by a shrinkage volume of currency and nothing else. In 1867 we had \$37.51 per capita of population; in 1887 we had less than \$7.00.

The foregoing tables, with accompanying remarks, were prepared by Mr. N. A. Dunning, a most careful, painstaking and reliable statistician and writer on economic questions.

It cannot be doubted that the national bankers were chiefly

instrumental in fastening this policy upon the country. Nor can it be doubted, that occupying a central position in the monetary system—being, in fact, the very pivot upon which it revolves, the banks will, without a revolution in the politics of the country, continue to shape the whole course of our financial legislation. Indeed, we now have, only in a more elaborate and extensive form, the financial system and policy of Great Britain, including the “gold standard.”

H. H. Gibbs, an ex-governor of the Bank of England, says, in an article in the *British National Review* for July, 1883, that the following ideas, being precisely those of the *Economist*, are constantly pressed upon the English public :

“England is a creditor nation. The scarcity of gold has made that metal more valuable; and she must continue to be still more the gainer if gold become scarcer still. Is it to be expected that she should throw away this advantage?” (*Philosophy of Price*, page 129.)

Mr. John H. Palmer, one of the directors of the Bank of England, testified in 1847, before the “secret committee” appointed by Parliament to investigate the management of the bank, that “there is no means of supplying the bank with gold excepting only the diminution of the bank notes, which immediately contracts the currency and lowers prices by increasing the value of money.” He further testified that this method of supplying the bank with money, which he justified, “destroys the labor of the country.” Gold, being now practically the only money of ultimate payment in Christendom, every nation is bidding for it. To bring it in, the banks contract the currency, and thus cut down prices and “destroy labor.” It is this fatal power, lodged in the Bank of England, that induced Mr. Sealy, in his book on coins and currency, published in London in 1833, to say, “The commerce of the country is now in the power of the Bank of England, as it was before the legislature. . . . Instead of a mercantile system, supported by merchants and manufacturers and agricultural interests, we have now the monetary system endangering the welfare of the merchants, manufacturers and agricultural interests, for the benefit of the fund-holding classes.”

Our banks have the same power of contracting the currency, and are moving forward steadily toward the accomplishment of the end for which they have struggled so long—the legal enactment of the “gold standard.” This attained, their power will be full and complete, and that the supremacy of either of the old parties under its present leadership will bring to them this long-desired consummation of their cherished schemes, no one who reads aright the signs of the times can seriously doubt. Senator Mills, who in 1886, while advocating the free coinage of silver, declared that “there is no curse in existence like the contraction of the currency,” and showed that because of the demonetization of silver, the farmers of the United States, on four leading crops, lost \$1,300,000,000 in one year. He is now in Texas, flying from place to place, astride his century-old tariff horse, waving the bloody shirt and belittling the silver issue. Wall street’s cup of joy must now be full to the brim. Meanwhile, the banks, in anticipation of the continued war against silver and no doubt intending to bulldoze the people into the support of the gold standard, are making their contracts payable in gold coin, and it may be mentioned as another significant fact, that Henry Clews, the great banker of New York, recently addressed a letter to the secretary of the treasury urging him to sell \$25,000,000 of gold bonds to the banks to be used by them as a basis for banking. It was shown by Senator Buck, in a speech delivered by him in the United States senate, January 12, 1894, that in 1862, when our first bonds were issued, up to 1874, when the senator made his speech, the bondholders made a profit of more than \$1,000,000,000, the exact figures being \$1,012,537,205. The paper money exchanged at par for bonds was bought at a discount, and the profit referred to consisted of this discount—the difference in value between gold and greenbacks—and interest thereon. Truly a paternal government, the grateful bondholder will say. The bondholder, however, who of course is largely the banker, was not to be satisfied with a beggarly \$1,000,000,000.

In 1866 our national debt amounted to \$2,783,000,000. Of this we have paid, up to the year 1890, on principal, \$1,599,-

665,312; as interest accrued, \$2,540,726,049; and as premium on bonds, \$58,340,000, making an aggregate paid on the public debt to the year mentioned, \$4,198,931,361. In 1890 there remained still due on the public debt, \$1,183,334,668. Had the debt been payable in wheat it would have required in 1866, 1,007,000,000 bushels to discharge it. In consequence of the decline in prices it would have required in 1890, \$1,958,389,084 to pay the balance of the public debt then due, after deducting the enormous payments referred to. In 1867 it would have required 7,092,000,000 pounds of cotton to pay the entire public debt, had it been thus payable. In 1890 the balance of debt then due would have required for its payment, 11,752,518,000 pounds of cotton. I am indebted to Mr. Dunning for these figures also. They can easily be verified, and they show, as clearly as the sunshine, that, if measured by labor and its products, our public debt is to-day greater and more burdensome than it was in 1866, notwithstanding the enormous payments referred to. If payable in cotton at last year's prices, the prospect for productive industry in the South would be dark indeed.

But this is not all. The census bulletin, issued by the chief of the census bureau, shows that in 1880 nine North Atlantic states — Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—had 29 per cent of the population of the United States, and that during the decade ending in 1890, they secured 41 per cent of all the wealth gained in the Union; while the twenty-one states—Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska—with 56 per cent of the population in 1880, secured during the same decade only 23 per cent of the aggregate wealth gain of the country. And yet the nine states mentioned contain 168,665 square miles of territory while the twenty-one states contain 985,635 square miles. Moreover, the nine states in 1880, had an aggregate assessed value of \$7,559,928,915, while the twenty-one states had in the same year an aggregate assessment of

\$6,839,554,628. Thus the nine states with little more than half the labor, about one-sixth of the land, and about the same amount of capital, secured, during the decade mentioned, nearly twice as much of the aggregate wealth gain of the country, as the twenty-one states. Again comparing the State of New York the financial center, with West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, fifteen states, we find that, in 1880 the fifteen states had nearly four times as much population as New York and about one and one-half times as much assessed value, and that their territory, as compared with that of New York, is nearly sixteen to one. Yet New York gains, in the decade mentioned, \$6,197,719 more wealth than the fifteen states. The following clipping from the *Dallas News* of August 15 would seem to indicate that the enormous wealth gain of the North Atlantic states is not likely to suffer any curtailment under the fostering care of the McKinley bill:

“The Mills Growing Richer—Cotton Manufacturers More Prosperous Than Ever Before.—Fall River, Mass., Aug. 14.—Published returns from mills here for the past quarter show they are now enjoying the most prosperous season ever known in cotton manufacturing in Fall River. Thirty-one corporations representing 46 mills have paid dividends of \$538,880 on a capital of \$18,128,000. The total dividends paid for the corresponding quarter last year amounted to \$233,250. In addition the mills have added as much more to their surplus reserve funds, and most mills have unburdened themselves of debts and interest accounts and made extensive alterations and additions.”

Thus it is plain to see that the manufacturing and financial centers have no reason to complain of present conditions. Gorged to repletion with the good things that a paternal government has showered upon them for lo, these many years, what care they if barefoot Texas women and children pick 6-cent cotton to supply their mills, or Kansas farmers raise 10-cent corn to pay interest on their mortgages?

But this is not all. The farmer from 1850 to 1860 found



himself in possession of about 70 per cent of the national wealth, and growing richer each year. The gold mines of California were annually adding to the circulation, enhancing prices, employing labor, and diffusing prosperity through all the avenues of our social, commercial, and industrial life. Farm values went up and farm products commanded ready sale at good prices. The farmer's sons and daughters, as they grew up and married, were easily provided for and settled around the old homestead, or at least within convenient reach of it. But what a fate has overtaken this plodding, conservative, brave, and honest citizen. Poverty and debt press him, taxes press him, freight rates press him, and it has become his hard and burdensome lot to toil from January to December for the bare necessities of life. Wife and children must relinquish the small comforts and luxuries which once were within their reach. The boys, as they grow up to manhood's estate, vanish from beneath the paternal roof to seek their fortunes in the fascinating and mysterious west; but, alas! they find no west that promises fortune. The speculator, the railway, and the syndicate have preceded them and occupied the ground. The railroads own 281,000,000 acres, foreign and domestic syndicates own 84,000,000 acres, making a total of 365,000,000, and 687,906,375 are in farms. There is probably not now left of our vast public domain more than an average of three acres per capita of our population, and much of this is barren or desert land, unfit, for many reasons, for occupation by the home seeker. Thus cut off by the policy of our government from access to the cheap public lands, is it wonderful that such a large portion of our people are tenants—that, in fact, over 700,000 farmers in the United States are compelled to share their crops with landlords?

But not only are the money and lands monopolized but the railroads as well. In the present adjustment of our social and industrial life, railroads, as a means of exchange and distribution, have become an absolute necessity. The use with which a railroad is charged, being public in its character—being in fact the exercise of a function belonging more to government than to private individuals—there is the same reason for reduc-

ing rates of traffic on these lines of transportation as exists in favor of a reduction of public taxation. Every person feels that high rates of taxation are burdensome and hence the demand for the reduction of public expenditures to the necessary expense of government economically administered. A moment's reflection will serve to convince any candid mind that the same rule should apply to the expense of operating that system of inter-communication by which the products of labor are exchanged and the social and business life of the country is so largely maintained. Certainly, agencies which affect every member of the political community and which largely determine and give shape to the complex relations and functions of society—which in fact deeply affect and involve its organic life—ought not to be mere matters of private speculation and gain. The inter-communication of intelligence and the exchange of wealth products by the railroad and telegraph certainly lie at the very foundation of our industrial, and thus of our social well-being, since our complex social life finds expression (evolution) in our complex industrial system and their maintenance must be seen to be rather a function of government than of the individual. And government ought to take care that the expense of maintenance shall be reduced to the minimum, like any other public tax.

With this in view, the enormity of the tax levied upon production by the railway and telegraph systems of the country may be appreciated when it is understood that of the \$10,000,000,000 of stocks and bonds representing the nominal cost of the railway system of the country, approximately one-half is fictitious or watered, and that the gross income derived from the operation of this system amounts to more than \$1,000,000,000, a sum probably exceeding the entire amount of money in actual circulation among the people. The net earnings of the system for 1890 are put down in table No. 226 of the Statistical Abstract at \$346,921,318.

But while the manufacturer, the banker and bondholder and the railroads thus levy tribute upon the productive forces of the country, the government adds to its own increased burdens.

Look at these figures showing appropriations by the congresses and for the years named :

Congress.	Time.	Appropriations.
Forty-third.....	1875-76	\$633,794,000
Forty-fifth.....	1879-80	704,527,000
Forty-eighth.....	1885-86	655,269,000
Forty-ninth.....	1887-88	746,342,000
Fiftieth.....	1889-90	817,963,000
Fifty-first....	1891-92	988,417,000

These figures are correct, as they have the endorsement of Senator Gorman, a prominent Democratic candidate for the presidential nomination, who contends that the annual expenditures of the government are "justly growing." He is also the Senator who justified the building of a great navy as a means of subsidizing "the great steal industries."

Around us on every hand may be seen the evil results of the vicious policy which I have but briefly outlined; and these results may be gathered up and expressed in the statement that for thirty years past in this great republic, dedicated in blood to human liberty and the rights of man, the "rich have been growing richer and the poor, poorer." A million tramps, homeless and hopeless wanderers, trudge along our highways and gaze despairingly over illimitable areas of unused land, monopolized and withheld from settlement by the speculator, the syndicate and the corporation, for the sake of the "unearned increment"—that deep and ineffaceable stigma upon our statesmanship and civilization. For the tramp no flower blooms, the grass does not grow, and Mother Earth, with her generous bosom, affords no nourishment. A fugitive and vagabond, no human sympathy follows him as he flies from the face of his fellow-man, only to find rest when crime forces him within prison walls or the grave opens to receive his wasted and wearied body. But the tramp is fortunate in at least one respect—he has found his way out of the cities into the country, where beggary may prolong his useless existence. Thousands of poor in our cities are less fortunate. "In New York forty thousand working women are so poorly paid that they must accept charity, sell their bodies or starve. In one precinct

twenty-seven murdered babies were picked up, six in vaults." In California, girls are paid wages ranging from \$1.12 to \$1.90 per week. "In the sweating establishments of Chicago," says the *Sociologic News*, "the wages paid girls and women range from \$1.00 to \$5.00 a week, dishonor or death being made a necessity." The same authority says: "The average wages paid street car drivers in Ohio is \$1.53 per working day of twelve hours and thirty-five minutes. The average pay of men in street car stables is \$1.37 a day, working eleven hours and a quarter. . . . In the Pennsylvania mining regions the miners receive \$178.40 a year. Out of this pittance they pay to the mining companies for the hovels they occupy 40 per cent. of the value of the hovel."

But here is another picture. There are 9,000,000 mortgaged homes in the United States. In the last decade tenant farmers have increased in number, in Kansas more than 20 per cent. and more than 11 per cent. in Ohio. Texas alone had, a few years ago, 66,465 tenant farmers, leading all of the producing states except Illinois.

I have alluded to the decline in prices. This will strikingly appear from the following comparison of prices by decades:

From 1860 to 1870, average price of wheat per bushel.....	\$1 99
From 1870 to 1880 " " " " " " " " .....	1 38
From 1880 to 1889 " " " " " " " " .....	1 07
Price at this time.....	80
From 1860 to 1870, average price of corn per bushel.....	96
From 1870 to 1880, " " " " " " " " .....	63
From 1880 to 1889, " " " " " " " " .....	46
Price at this time.....	38

In 1870 wheat brought \$12.76 per acre; in 1890, \$8.60; loss per acre, \$4.16. Corn brought in 1870, \$18.74; in 1890, \$8.73; loss per acre, \$10.01. Rye brought per acre in 1870, \$19.75; in 1890, \$6.26; loss per acre, \$13.49. Cotton brought per acre in 1870, \$32; in 1890, \$9.96; loss per acre, \$22.04. In like manner it may be shown that there was a loss on barley of \$12.57 and on oats of \$9.79. The aggregate loss on these crops will run up to many hundred millions, but falling prices and shrinking values only affect the farmer, the laborer, the artisan, the producer and the

worker. The bond holder still clips his coupons and draws gold from the treasury, the banker to the same pleasing performance adds the taking of increased usury and the manufacturer still holds his clutch on the market by means of the protection against competition which a compliant government gives him. As a result, society is rapidly dividing itself into two classes—the very rich and the very poor. Look at this statement, compiled by a most accurate and conscientious statistician, of the wealth of the United States:

200 people are worth .....	\$4,000,000,000
400 “ “ “ .....	4,000,000,000
1,000 “ “ “ .....	5,000,000,000
2,500 “ “ “ .....	6,250,000,000
7,000 “ “ “ .....	7,000,000,000
20,000 “ “ “ .....	10,000,000,000
<hr/>	<hr/>
31,100 “ “ “ .....	\$36,250,000,000

Thus it appears that one-twentieth of one per cent of our population own three-fifths of the entire wealth of the country. We had but few millionaires in 1860; now the number is estimated at 31,000; in 1860 there were no tramps, now there are from one to two million. In New York alone there are, it is said, 1,000 millionaires. There the extreme contrasts appear. As a leading journal recently said, “thirteen dollars a month for some, thirteen dollars a minute for another. On one side whole families crowd together in one room, on the other a palace rivaling those of the crowned heads of Europe. Here are men looking through garbage for a piece of mouldy bread; there a man spends \$700,000 for a stable and \$300,000 for a pleasure boat.” Is it not plain that the conditions that have produced such results in a country like ours, teeming with inexhaustible, undeveloped wealth, cannot be made to yield to any half remedy?

The Republican party, refusing to believe that these conditions are vicious and wrong, offers no remedy; the Democratic party conceding that, in some respects, the country needs relief, proposes “tariff for revenue only.” Mr. Cleveland, in responding to the committee which notified him of his nomination, only discussed the tariff question and the force bill,

and it may fairly be assumed that these two questions are those alone on which the Democratic party appeals to the country. The plank favoring the removal of the discriminative tax and bank circulation is evidently not adopted in response to any demand for an increase of the currency, as the platform contains no recognition of such demand. On the contrary, the silver plank involves unmistakable repudiation of such demand. I am aware that some Democrats have the hardihood to assert that it is a declaration in favor of free silver, but the evidence is overwhelming to the contrary.

The New York *Times* approves this plan and says of it: "It shows that public sentiment is being enlightened and that the demand for free coinage of silver has been, on the one hand, much exaggerated, and on the other hand, that it has yielded to the campaign of education in which Mr. Cleveland has been leader." The Chicago *Herald* says: "The Chicago silver plank is, on the whole, so good that it is surprising that it should have been accepted by the monometalists with so little ado on the floor of the convention." The New York *World*, the leading democratic journal of the country, says, by the silver plank, the democratic party "indorses the position taken by Senator Sherman himself in a rational moment," and further says of this plank, "one of the best statements of the evils of free and unlimited silver coinage that has appeared to any political platform is contained in the concluding sentence of this plank." Ex-Congressman H. L. Muldrow says, referring to the democratic nominees: "I believe the ticket will be a winner. Cleveland represents certain money interests in the Northeast, and is considered a safe man by the big financial men of New York." To the query whether the financial (silver) plank differed from that of the republicans, Mr. Whitney, Mr. Cleveland's manager, replied: "In no respect that I know of; but it reads better." The New York *Journal of Finance* says: "With either Mr. Harrison or Mr. Cleveland in the presidential chair, a free silver measure is safe from being made a law by the executive sanction." The same paper says, speaking of the free silver bill lately passed by the United States Senate: "The people of the United States, moreover, are favored, too,

in the fact that for four years more they need have no fear that this wicked onslaught upon the national integrity can find favor with the chief executive, for it matters not next November whether the successful candidate shall be General Harrison or Grover Cleveland, the plotters and the plunderers will meet an opponent who is neither a demagogue nor in sympathy with demagogues, nor yet to be cowed by demagogues. The United States is in no nanger of free silver despoliation.

Our own Senator Coke, in a great speech delivered in the United States senate, April 26, 1892, after the nomination of Mr. Harrison but before Mr. Cleveland's nomination, used the following language: "The executive department of the government, in all its branches, from Hayes' administration to Harrison's, including Cleveland's, has been most thoroughly and completely under the control and influence and dictation of the great capitalistic combination which has just scored another victory against the people on the silver issue. All these administrations made bitter, savage war on silver and left no means untried to discredit and break it down and debase it." Again he says: "All of these administrations, from the president down to the lowest reporting official of the treasury department, in messages and reports, denounced silver coinage, urged its abandonment, denounced the \$346,000,000 of legal tender notes as a debt of the government which should be paid, and the notes taken out of circulation, retired and cancelled, although not a cent of interest runs on them, advising the country that gold and national bank notes should be our only circulating medium, with subsidiary silver coin for purposes of change." And says the same distinguished senator in the same speech: "No bolder or more audacious defiance of the popular will has ever occurred in the history of any government, whether republican or monarchial, than for nearly fifteen years has marked the course of the executive department of this government in its dealings with the silver question," and still again, "Secure in the nomination of President Harrison by the republican party . . . this combination (referring to the British American syndicate of bankers and bond holders which he says 'proved stronger than the

people') is now giving its undivided attention to placing at the head of the democratic ticket a name which, like that of President Harrison, is backed by a record which of itself is a guaranty that free silver coinage will be an impossibility if he should ever become president." Cleveland has been nominated, the "syndicate of bankers and bondholders" has "proved stronger than the people," and the senator still advises us all to remain in the democratic party and vote for Cleveland—presumably to perpetuate an "audacious defiance of the popular will" for the sake of maintaining the unity of the old party.

Senator Mills thinks that the question of the free coinage of silver is an unimportant one, as it would put in circulation only about \$15,000,000 per annum. Has it occurred to this distinguished gentleman that Cleveland and the financiers of New York would scarcely make such a noise over an unimportant matter? Why such unprecedented opposition to the silver bill at the late session of congress if it could only have added an insignificant amount to the circulation? The senator himself, in 1886, in advocating free silver, eloquently and nobly said: "The objection to the free coinage of silver is because it will increase the volume of circulation that measures the value of labor. It will make money cheap, but will make the stroke of the arm dearer. It will make clothing dearer, it will make corn and cotton dearer, it will make wheat dearer, but it will make every day of toil bring a better price than it is now worth. The best condition of every people is that in which labor receives the highest possible reward for its toil." The senator was then arguing for an inflation of the currency by restoring the "people's money (silver) to the mints on equal terms with gold as it was years ago." That was six years ago. Has investigation changed his views, or has the tariff issue grown to such proportions that it fills his range of vision and, by comparison, dwarfs and obscures all other public questions? If the senator's love for the special topic upon which his eloquence never flags has not led him to under-estimate the silver issue, it may be that the effect of the act of 1890 on the silver coinage has not been duly considered by him. This act virtually converts silver, so far as coined under its terms, into



credit money. Coin certificates issued under its provisions are redeemable in either gold or silver and the policy of the administration is to redeem them in gold. The following, taken from the Dallas News of the 16th inst., may throw some light on this subject: "An Unusual Demand—The Government Met It Promptly and Let Loose Its Gold—New York, Aug. 15.—A crucial test of the policy of the government was made yesterday when Ickelheimer & Co. tendered \$1,000,000 in treasury notes, issued on account of silver purchases, and demanded for them \$1,000,000 in gold to be shipped to Germany tomorrow.

"The treasury officials paid the \$1,000,000 in exchange for the treasury notes and the load was carted away and put on a steamer. The transaction caused some excitement, as no home institution in the history of the country ever made such a demand, and the impression in many places is that the firm took the step more to see if they could get it and force a crisis. Ex-Treasurer Roberts was at the sub-treasury when the gold was being carted away and admitted that it was the first time such a demand was ever made, although heretofore gold was given for old gold and also for treasury notes. He said: 'No steps have been taken by the administration to prevent or obstruct the export of gold. The government stands ready to meet all its obligations in gold and will pay them. The free gold balance is now \$112,000,000.'

"By this statement it is clear that the government is already decided upon the plan to pay all the silver treasury notes in gold if demanded."

Silver, under the policy here disclosed, can no longer be regarded as money of ultimate payment. It does not pay principal or interest on the public debt, nor will it be allowed to redeem its own certificates of deposit. Besides, while our own government has been repudiating silver, the banks, always alive to their own interests, have been retiring their own circulating notes, having reduced their circulation from \$352,464,788 in 1882 to \$162,221,046 in 1891, meanwhile increasing their holdings of specie from \$109,984,111.04 in March, 1882, to \$183,575,075.91 in September, 1891. Only recently, Henry

Clews informed Secretary Foster that the banks held \$63,000,000 in gold alone. One ought not to wonder that the coinage of silver should not have realized all of the expectations of its friends in the face of the opposition of all the money kings aided by all the power of both Republican and Democratic administrations. And if the Sherman Bill of 1890 is repealed, as the Democratic platform requires, this will leave silver completely demonetized and degraded. We will then be where Cleveland intends we shall be—on the “gold standard.”

But the question of remedies should be considered in relation to the problem of the proper distribution of wealth. The production of wealth would doubtless be largely increased by free trade, but it could not secure an equitable distribution of wealth products. Tariff for revenue only, if practicable at all with half a billion dollars revenue to raise annually, would doubtless afford some relief, as would any reduction in import duties, but it would have no effect to distribute the wealth of the country more equitably than the system of high protection. In so-called free trade England the rich still grow richer and the poor, poorer—millionaires and paupers are the joint products of their economical and industrial system. There, as here, the hovel rests in the shadow of the palace, starvation overtakes thousands, and a large section of the humanity of the United Kingdom is literally rotting down in poverty and crime, in the very presence of the palaces which shelter the chiefs of finance, trade and the factory.

Besides, if the tariff for revenue is the single and only remedy, how was it that immediately after the war, with an abundant circulation and a war tariff enormously protective, the country prospered as it never prospered before? The Democratic platform demands tariff for revenue only, but it does not specify what rate of duty would constitute such a tariff, nor does it show what rate would be necessary to maintain our national revenues as now fixed, nor does it propose any reduction in the pension charges or in any other expenditures, so as to bring the annual revenues within the limits of a strictly revenue tariff. To be sure, the free list may be somewhat enlarged, but if the Springer bills at the late session, or the Mills bill of

1888 are to furnish the rule, then the free list under Democratic policy must be understood to include free raw material with high protective duties on the manufactured product. How will all this effect a proper distribution of wealth? Besides, are we to presume that the protected industries of the country, and particularly the protection Democrats of the east, will not successfully oppose any radical reduction of the tariff? It seems idle to assume any such thing. The Cleveland platform of 1884 makes this declaration: "From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be."

With this distinct committal to the tariff as the chief source of federal revenue and our annual appropriation "justly growing," (as Senator Gorman declares), how are the Democrats going to get the country down to a strict revenue tariff—one not involving the principles of protection? A lower tariff will doubtless increase the revenues, but this, with \$500,000,000 of revenue to raise, must be protective. Why, the Democratic house at the last session passed a river and harbor bill appropriating, if I am correctly informed, \$48,000,000. This does not justify the expectation that public expenditures will run down materially under Democratic rule. But listen to what Henry George, the most philosophical and accurate thinker on the question of free trade in this country, says, in the book which Democrats published in the *Congressional Record* as a campaign document: "The abolition of protection would tend to increase the production of wealth—that is sure. But under the conditions that exist, increase in the production of wealth may itself become a curse—first, to laboring people, and ultimately to society at large." Again: "In countries like Great Britain there is still a large class living on the verge of starvation, and constantly slipping over it—a class who have not derived the slightest benefit from the immense productive power, since their condition never could have been worse than it is—a class whose habitual condition in times of peace and plenty is lower, harder and more precarious than that of savages." Again: "This fact (that the laborer finds it harder and harder to get a living in the United States) destroys the

assumption that our protective tariff raises and maintains wages; but it also makes it impossible to assume that the abolition of protection would in any way alter the tendency which, as wealth increases, makes the struggle for existence harder and harder. This tendency shows itself throughout the civilized world, and arises from the more unequal distribution which everywhere accompanies the increase of wealth. In England the same tendency has continued to manifest itself since the abolition of protection. . . . The depths of poverty are as dark as ever, and the contrast between want and wealth more glaring." Again: "The entire abolition of protection—the mere substitution of a revenue tariff for a protective tariff—is such a lame and timorous application of the free trade principle that it is a misnomer to speak of it as free trade. A revenue tariff is a somewhat milder restriction on trade than a protective tariff." Again: "The problem we must solve, to explain why free trade or labor saving invention or any similar cause fails to produce the general benefits we naturally expect, is a problem of the distribution of wealth."

Indeed all history and the commonest dictates of reason teach us that as conditions now are in the United States, no mere increase in the production of wealth could bring adequate relief to the toiling and over-burdened masses. Free trade would enhance production and while, as Mr. George shows, it might benefit the laborer by increasing his wages, such benefit would be temporary only—the concentration of wealth would still go on as in England, and all of the evils resulting from an unequal distribution of wealth might appear in even an aggravated form. Tariff for revenue only, under present conditions is only a question of schedules of greater or less protection. The democratic party with its national leadership composed of such men as Gorman, Brice, Whitney and others, not only opposed to silver but to greenbacks as well, friendly to national banks and identified by social and pecuniary interest with the classes who live and thrive on monopoly and legislative favoritism, has a herculean task before it. Senator Mills, with his fervid and highly imaginative nature, full of southern chivalry and eloquence, no doubt has persuaded himself that a revenue tariff

will create and distribute wealth, destroy monopoly, open the vaults of the banks and bond holders and send the money so long hoarded there, in vitalizing streams, to every nook and corner of the country; but the difficulty of impressing such views upon the cold-blooded national leaders referred to stamps his undertaking as the task of the century.

But I submit that the platform of the people's party does present a far more comprehensive and reasonable plan of relief than that offered by the democracy. We propose, in the first place, to set ourselves in undying opposition to land monopoly—to so shape the policy of the government that the public land shall be used only by the actual settler, and to reclaim it from corporations, as far as practicable. This will prevent any monopolization of the public lands in the future for speculative purposes.

In the next place, we place in our platform a declaration of principle which lies at the foundation of any real reform on questions of taxation. "Every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery." A protective tariff violates this principle, and we stand pledged to remove protection from our tariff as soon as it can be safely and properly done; and in order that this may be accomplished, we favor a graduated income tax which will enable us to greatly reduce the amount of revenue to be raised by duties on imports. By means of this supplementary tax, there is no doubt that we can raise largely more than one-half the revenue now derived from import duties, and thus be able to reduce tariff taxation and afford relief to farmer and laborer. By availing ourselves of the income tax and resolutely applying ourselves to the task of limiting "all state and national revenues to the necessary expenses of government, economically and honestly administered," we shall be able to enter upon the policy of "progressive free trade"—thus conforming our political action to the declaration of the old democracy as contained in the national democratic platform of 1856—the memorable declaration in favor of "free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world." But knowing that reform must be as comprehensive as the evils to be corrected, and that a mere reformation of tax systems cannot rem-

edly evils growing out of false systems of finance and transportation, we propose: 1st. A currency "safe, sound and flexible," issued directly to the people by the government, without the intervention of the banks. 2d, Free coinage of silver. 3d, Increase of the circulating medium to \$50 per capita; and 4th, Government ownership of railroads. In advocating the free coinage of silver, we put ourselves in line with the traditions and teachings of the "old democracy," all of whose great leaders, from Jefferson down, believed in bi-metalism. From 1792 to 1873 the silver dollar was coined upon equal terms with gold, and no war was ever waged upon it till the fund-holding classes of England and the United States organized the fight in 1873 which, by corrupt means, succeeded in having the silver dollar dropped from the coinage, and afterwards, in 1874, in causing the complete demonetization of silver.

National banks were always the pet aversion of the old democracy. Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Albert Gallatin, Dec. 13, 1793, writing of the national banking system, said: "This institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and forms of the constitution." On another occasion he writes: "I believe that banking institutions are more dangerous to our liberties than standing armies. Already they have raised up a money aristocracy that has set the government at defiance. The issuing power should be taken from the banks and restored to the people, to whom it properly belongs. Let banks exist, but let them bank upon coin or treasury notes." Thos. H. Benton, speaking of the national banks, said: "The government ought not to delegate this power if it could. It was too great a power to be trusted to any banking business whatever, or to any authority, but the highest and most responsible which was known to our form of government. The government itself ceases to be independent, ceases to be safe when the national currency is at the will of a company."

Calhoun says: "Never was an engine invented better calculated to place the destiny of the many in the hands of the few, or less favorable to that equality and independence which lies at the foundations of our free institutions." Again he says

in the same great speech: "It is the remark of a profound statesman that the revenue is the state, and of course those who control the revenue control the state, and those who can control the money power can control the revenue, and through it, the state with the prosperity and industry of the country in all its ramifications." The national democratic platforms from 1840 to 1856 contained this plank:

"That congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and will of the people."

This additional plank appears in the democratic platforms of 1840 and 1856:

"Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people."

It will be seen that our opposition to national banks is supported by the teachings of Jefferson, Calhoun and the other great leaders of democratic thought, as well as by the platforms, the traditions and history of the old democracy. Who can fail to admire the fight of the old party under the leadership of Jackson and his successors, in favor of free trade and against national banks? Complete separation of the government and its revenues from banking institutions was the old slogan of democracy until the civil war and the vicious conditions produced by it induced forgetfulness of the warnings of the fathers. Since the war, look at the leaders of democracy—August Belmont, Manton Marble, W. H. English, Calvin Brice, Senator Gorman, Samuel Tilden, Samuel Randall, Grover Cleveland, W. C. Whitney, Daniel Manning and others of like kind. All of these men have favored national banks and a protective tariff. Some of them are interested in national banks, and are in favor of maintaining the present financial system—all have opposed greenbacks and free silver coinage,

all favored the national banks and the gold standard. The democratic platforms since the war have never expressed any opposition whatever to national banks and have three times favored tariff for revenue with incidental protection. The platform of 1876, upon which Tilden was elected, denounced the republicans for not having paid off and retired the greenbacks, the non-payment of which it declared to be a "disregard of the plighted faith of the nation." This was the great reform platform which, in addition to avowed hostility to the greenbacks, proposed a system or plan of resumption which would at no time alarm "the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which 95 per cent of all business transactions are performed," thus plainly referring to and endorsing the national bank system.

Mr. Bayard, Cleveland's secretary of state and a pronounced anti-free coinage man, in a public speech during the campaign of 1880, in New York, used this language: "I have seen it charged that the Democratic party were foes to the national banks, but I am at a loss to know the authority for this. The platforms of the party contain no such suggestion and admit of no such construction, in that for the second place on our ticket we have named Mr. William English of Indiana, one of the ablest financiers and business men in the whole country, whose management of the affairs of a national bank, of which he was president, was conspicuous for success." The heads of the treasury department under Mr. Cleveland recommended and urged the cessation of silver coinage and the retirement of the greenback circulation—advising that the greenbacks be funded in bonds to be "issued only to national banks presenting greenbacks" to be funded, the bonds to be "available only as a deposit to secure national bank circulation and to entitle the bank depositing them to receive circulation notes to the amount of their face." In addition to this manifestation of extreme regard for the national banks, Cleveland caused \$60,000,000 to be deposited without interest with certain favored national banks, taking their bonds only for the return of the principal. Thus in violation of the principles of the old Democracy, the money of the government was mingled with the funds of bank-



ing institutions, to be by them loaned at enormous rates of interest to the people. Of course the banks love and support Cleveland.

But it will be observed we propose the government shall issue directly to the people paper currency, not in unlimited quantities but enough to bring the aggregate circulating medium up to \$50 per capita, such currency to be full legal tender. Mr. Whitney, the national banker of Los Angeles, California, who has carefully investigated the subject and written most learnedly upon it, says that this is a safe limit, and it is well known that France, with less capacity than the United States to absorb currency, has in circulation more than \$50 per capita and it is prospering by its use.

McCullough, the great Scotch economist and the editor of the article on money in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, says: "Thus it appears that whatever may be the material of the money of a country, whether it consists of gold, silver, iron or paper, and however destitute of intrinsic value it may be, it is yet possible, by sufficiently limiting its quantity, to raise its value to any conceivable extent."

Recardo says: "By limiting the quantity of money it can be raised to any conceivable value. It is on this principle that paper money circulates. Though it has no intrinsic value, yet by limiting its quantity, its value in exchange is as great as an equal quantity of coin. On these principles it will be seen that it is not necessary that paper money should be payable in specie to secure its value."

Prof. Bonaby Price says: "Experience has proved that inconvertible paper need not suffer depreciation in value."

Mr. Calhoun says: "I now undertake to affirm, without the least fear that I can be answered, that a paper issued by the government with the simple promise to receive it in all of its dues would, to the extent it would circulate, form a perfect paper circulation which could not be abused by the government; that it would be as steady and uniform in value as the metals themselves." Mr. Calhoun further contended that the amount of such currency would be determined by the law of supply and demand, and cites the case of North Carolina who,

just after the revolution, with an annual revenue of much less than \$100,000, issued between \$400,000 and \$500,000 of legal tender paper which she successfully maintained at par with gold and silver. The means of getting this money to the people must be determined by the government. We favor the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, unless some better scheme should be presented. Thus we hold ourselves free to co-operate upon this line with the old parties upon any feasible plan of relief which may commend itself to our mind as superior to the sub-treasury. So far no remedy has been suggested looking to an increase in the circulating medium, except "wild-cat bank paper," for which we could hardly be expected to exchange the sub-treasury plan.

With respect to the railway question, we favor a commission, with power to fix and maintain rates—looking to government ownership as the only final and adequate solution of the problem. For myself, I believe in a strong commission law conferring full power upon a commission to regulate and control railroads and to fix and maintain rates. I believe, however, that a commission, organized under such a law, should proceed with great caution, seeking always to do "equal and exact justice" to the people and all interests involved. In the nature of things, however, the commission can not take from production the burden which our system of railway transportation puts upon it. It concedes that railroads are the private property of the corporations and must necessarily leave to the latter to determine the number and kind of officers, agents and employes, their duties and compensation. Hence, in adjusting rates, so long as these roads remain private property the commission must concede to the owners the right to fix the amount of operating expenses, the amount to be expended in betterments, etc. Hence the burden of the present rates must very largely remain; and when, in fixing rates, the commission drops to a point at which the roads cease to produce a reasonable income, as viewed from the standpoint of the owners, litigation must inevitably result, or a struggle in some form with the commission—all calculated to weaken and impair this form of regulation, possibly to destroy its usefulness. At best, in my judg-

ment, the remedy is a partial one, liable to great abuse, and if thrust into politics, likely to engender periodical bitterness and strife—to bring on, in fact, a war between the railroads and the people not favorable to a just and reasonable settlement of the great question of regulation. Government ownership, I verily believe, will obviate all of these troubles. The cost of the roads need not be more than \$5,000,000,000. Mr. C. Wood Davis, himself a practical railroad man of large experience and especially learned on this subject, says, in the *Arena* for June, 1892, that, estimating the cost of the roads at \$30,000 per mile, the total value of the 160,000 miles of roads in the United States will be \$4,800,000,000; but adding 25 per cent. to this and assuming that \$6,000,000,000 of 3 per cent. bonds are issued to pay for the roads, he finds the annual showing, under government ownership, to be about as follows:

## EXPENSES.

Interest on bonds .....	\$180,000,000
Cost of maintenance and operation....	670,000,000
Sinking fund.....	50,000,000
	<hr/>
Total annual expenses.....	\$900,000,000

The present cost per annum of operating the system is \$1,050,000,000—balance saved by government ownership, \$150,000,000. He further in the same paper shows various other savings amounting in the aggregate to \$160,000,000, and makes this remark: “It would appear that after yearly setting aside \$50,000,000 as a sinking fund, there are the best of reasons for believing that the cost of the railway service would be some \$310,000,000 less than under corporate management.” It will be seen that there is no suggestion here of issuing \$10,000,000,000 of paper money to pay for the railroads, neither is there any such suggestion in our platform. The newspapers represent Senator Mills with charging us with such a design. Possibly the wish is father to the thought; possibly the distinguished senator would be glad, for the sake of the Democratic party, if we had proposed to issue nine billion promises to pay, as in the case of the French assignats, predicated, as John Law’s bank

issues were, upon unsettled lands in some distant country. Possibly Col. Mills would be glad if he could place to our account the \$150,000,000 annual appropriation made necessary to pay pensions under a bill largely supported by good Democrats—an appropriation which the Chicago convention failed to include in its otherwise comprehensive and frantic denunciations. The senator should not fight an imaginary twelfth plank in the People's party platform. He was present at Chicago when his party platform was constructed, and justly received from his party friends distinguished recognitions of his presence. Pity his great influence was not use to induce his party to levy a thunderbolt at the law that has run our pension bill up to the enormous sum mentioned. Pity he permitted his party to avert its virtuous face from this enormous expenditure and that provided for the river and harbor bill, and to content itself with furious denunciations of the corrupt head of the pension bureau. But political life is full of such inconsistencies.

Nearly 1900 years ago ago a wonderful man, well known to history, but not much talked of in political parties, made his appearance in an oriental country. He was an embodiment of truth. Plain people gathered around him and heard him speak with delight. I presume because he spoke and lived the truth the emanations from the truth of his life and words charmed and attracted such folk. It is not written that he drew to him those in authority, the wealthy or the elite of society. How could he do so, seeing that he was but an humble man and was clothed in the coarse garb of a mechanic? But on one occasion he went up "into a mountain" away from the multitude and when a few simple-hearted men (his disciples) gathered around him, history records it that he preached a sermon which has come down through all ages, and by common consent contains more truth than can be found in all the sermons of all the great divines who ever occupied the sacred desk.

One remarkable thing he said: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." This sublime utterance has so impressed the human mind that men in Christendom, without exception, call it the "golden rule." So it is; but the author earned by its utterance the crown of thorns

and death on the cross. Social and industrial justice has since that time been denied to the toiling and suffering classes, because truth has been on the cross wearing the crown of thorns. But truth is abroad once again among the common people, as of old; it is calling its own and its own is hearing the call. They are crowding to the front as in that olden time and thank God that times are now more auspicious than they were then. The inspiration leads them. They do not threaten, but they demand justice. All the vituperation that can be hurled at them, all the derision, all the denunciation known to the political vocabulary cannot turn them to the right or left. Thirty odd years ago many of them stood before the blazing cannon's mouth in defense of an abstraction. The burden of all the ages is now upon them—the heaped and piled up burden of injustice and wrong. To the idle thunderbolts of politicians, such men can only answer with a smile. The banner of right waves above them; they are moving to victory.



## JUDGE NUGENT AT SAN MARCOS.

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REFORMERS WERE THE THEME OF HIS ADDRESS.

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Democratic Degeneracy—The Tariff and Silver Questions—Beginning of  
Christian Socialism—Transformations.

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SAN MARCOS, Hayes Co., Texas, July 21.

Judge T. L. Nugent arrived in this city on the early morning train, and at 11 A. M. addressed a large concourse of people on Chautauqua Hill. After having been introduced by Dr. P. C. Woods, a staunch Democrat, in a few courteous remarks, Mr. Nugent said :

There have been reformers in every age of the world. History is full of their schemes, their successes and defeats, their heroic lives and martyr deaths. In the temples of religion and the halls of legislation, in the forum and on the hustings, they have thundered denunciations at wrong and pleaded the cause of right. Political wrongs, social wrongs, religious wrongs—wrongs that destroyed liberty and created despotism; wrongs that have blighted innocence and extinguished hopes; wrongs that have aggrandized the few at the expense of the many, and brought conflict and disaster to the human race; wrongs sustained and supported by superstition, by tradition, by misguided affection; wrongs recent and old, in church and state; in the social system and family circle; wrongs of every kind and description have been in every age and among every people, the subject of their indignant protests; and in laboring

for the suppression of these wrongs they have relinquished worldly honors, surrendered fortune and sacrificed life itself.

The darkest shadows upon human history have been cast by the persecution they have suffered, the defeats which have attended their efforts, and the cruel injustice they have received from those whom they have sought to protect and defend. But persecution and defeat have failed to entirely suppress them or destroy their work. Seemingly driven from his field of labor at times, whenever and wherever evil conditions have brought suffering and distress to earth's despairing multitudes, then and there the reformer has reappeared with the same devotion to the cause of humanity, the same self-abnegation, the same boundless confidence in his schemes of relief; and his reappearance has ever been signalized by the same outpouring of derision and contempt, the same misconstruction and opposition. To the man whose interests and prejudices were involved in the existing order of things, he has always appeared as the enemy of his kind, the disturber of the public peace, the fomenter of discontent among the people. Yes, he has been smitten to death by the hands whose shackles he unbound, and innocent women and children, the beneficiaries of his unselfish labors, have been taught to sing praises over the shedding of his blood. Unfortunately, he has not always been richly endowed with worldly wisdom—his knowledge of practical affairs, of the methods by which a selfish world does its business, has been limited. He has often times been "as harmless as doves," but, alas! how seldom "as wise as serpents." He is not always a man of insight. He sees the external wrong—the dark shadow upon the world's life. The injustice and suffering which evil conditions bring to the toiling multitude, the undeserved power and prestige which these same conditions bring to the favored few—poverty for the millions, vast, unearned wealth for the very few. All of this he sees and his very soul flames up in honest indignation at the awful and apparently hopeless inequality which has been the one universal product of all human efforts to organize and administer government. His schemes of relief have, for the most part, been directed against superficial evils—evils of administration or policy which



reappear in spite of all palliatives. Now and then, indeed, noble men in whom the forces of evolution have in some mysterious way been focalized have arisen, and by pure weight of character have wrought changes of a more or less radical character in existing institutions, and thus have, so to speak, drawn the race to higher levels of political and social life. But even such exalted characters have never pierced to the core and uncovered the hidden causes of social evils. They have changed governments and policies and preserved to society its capacity to exist, to maintain its organic life and to receive and hold, through its crude and broken forms, the divine ideals which throughout the ages have been slowly but surely evolving to the surface of human life. Men as a rule, even those of the exceptionally gifted and nobler classes, have not, in thought or action, been able to transcend their external environments. The reformations started by them have run in grooves worn by existing social and political systems. Heredity and habits of thought and life have determined the scope and character of their efforts, hence social abuses have, in spite of those efforts, been transmitted from age to age, and the lines in which men now think are very much those which shaped human thought hundreds of years ago.

Men, from habit, become conservative. We learn to love what we are accustomed to, and misguided affection makes us cling with death-like tenacity to social and political institutions long after they have ceased to be useful or serviceable to the human race—yes, long after they have become the instruments of injustice and oppression. Luther's reformation corrected many abuses in the Romish church, but the Protestantism which he left to the world carries in its bosom the tyranny of opinion which, while greatly mitigating the severity of former church discipline, is quite effective in deterring men from too liberal indulgence of independent thought in the construction of doctrinal standards. The church does not compel a recantation on bended knees of obnoxious scientific opinions, but it puts a quietus on advanced thought by a resolution of its general assembly, lest the vulgar world, the laity, may be set to thinking outside of established theological lines. The methods of silence-

ing Briggs is no doubt to be preferred to that applied to the tongue of poor Galileo, but both methods answered the purpose and both illustrate the tendency of institutions to perpetuate themselves by means of the veneration in which they are held and the dread which they inspire. Institutions represent public opinion, and public opinion is as potent as thumbscrews to repress independence and enslave thought. As long as the system remains we permit non-essential modifications, changes in methods, but revolt at radical innovations that would sweep away the system itself even for something better. Romanism reappears in Protestantism in a less severe form with apparently a larger tolerance and a more benignant spirit—but is still carrying in its bosom all of the possibilities of old Romanism as it existed in Luther's day.

There is this difference, as a writer suggests, modern civilization has too many material interests at stake to permit an extreme indulgence of the propensity to persecute. It puts its staying hand, therefore, upon the tendency to ecclesiastical domination, and thus unconsciously enables the liberal and humane sentiment to more fully assert itself in all the churches. But then this staying hand does not press against the system itself. This would be to shock and outrage inherited prejudices and affections which civilization finds it convenient and useful to foster, and civilization may be always depended upon to take care of its own. What is said here of churches may be also said of political parties. The latter may not be as pure and clean as the former, but in both, though by different modes and with different ends and motives, the spirit of domination asserts itself and is made effective by means of an imperious public opinion. In both there is rulership that will not brook opposition. Of course it is admitted that in both alike the resort to discipline is justified, though in different degrees, by conscience and what men regard as their highest duty to their fellows. But I speak of the fact as one to be considered in testing the quality and possible effects of any reform movement.

Take the great and wonderful religious movement begun by Wesley in the last century, or that started by Alexander Camp-

bell some fifty years or more ago. Each of these movements resulted in the establishment of distinctly organized ecclesiastical bodies. No one can doubt the zeal, the philanthropy, or the good conscience of the membership of these religious organizations, but every dispassionate mind must see that so deeply involved in the affections of its members is each of these churches that any effort to change its simple customs or formulas would excite alarm and apprehension throughout the entire body. Some hardy reformer might, however, after years of toil and misconstruction, effect useful changes in these, but it would only be by leaving the essential features of the system untouched. Thus, in the course of time, even vital doctrines of the creed might vanish, while the system itself would remain to circumscribe and dominate human thought and effort for many generations. And this for the reason that affection, social custom, and the inexorable demands of conventional life would combine to prevent its displacement.

A standing illustration of this, though on a much lower plane, is to be found in the democratic party organization of to-day. Thirty odd years ago this party in national convention declared in unequivocal terms for free trade; and there are still lofty minds which cling to it under the delusive hope that the old time ideal of "free trade throughout the world" will yet find expression in its creed and breathe into its future campaigns the holy inspiration of humanity. Vain expectation. Henry George and his coterie of single taxers have caught the inspiration of a great truth, but the steadfast devotion with which these fine humane thinkers, to whom the name of a custom house is odious, have supported Mr. Cleveland, who speaks almost sneeringly of what he is pleased to call "impossible free trade," illustrates how a great reform may be practically nullified by the potent influence of a political organization and the inveterate public opinion by which it is sustained. To even a casual thinker it must be apparent that the road to free trade is not that which runs through protectionists' camps and upon which at this time democratic politicians swarm in the headlong march to the capital city. Free trade, forsooth, through a protective administration, backed by a struggling

horde of democratic office seekers, each shrieking tariff reform, but evidently unwilling that the system which nourishes 40,000 or 50,000 loyal partisans should ever be wholly abolished! Free trade in the offices is what these spoilsmen seek.

Just as unreasonable is the expectation that the southern hope of free silver will ever be realized through an administration committed against the policy and ready to employ all the power of patronage and party favor to effectuate its opposition. John H. Reagan, that sturdy patriot, strikes out boldly at the head of his party, predicts direful things for those who war on silver, but his arm is all too weak to stay the fateful opposition. Coke fought valiantly for the white metal until the party elected its gold standard president, but since that event seems to have found it easy to digest and assimilate, apparently without nausea, the whole "syndicate of American and English bankers and bondholders." He, too, is one of the Romans of Democracy—a vigorous thinker and an honest man. But Coke, the lion who now evinces the submissive docility of the the lamb, and Reagan, who bravely continues to cast darts from his place on the commission, both alike indulge the fatuous belief that Democracy, with its heterogeneous elements representing all conflicting beliefs, will some day be sufficiently reformed to pass tariff and financial laws in harmony with southern demands—how, they don't know. Meanwhile the gold bugs plot and plan and the silver sentiment weakens. Oh, for some Cicero to startle the people out of their lethargy and unmask to their view the worse than Catilinian conspiracy by which plutocracy is seeking their financial and political enslavement.

Democracy of to-day! What is it, but the shell from which the once juicy kernel has been extracted? The fire of patriotism that once burned in its bosom has been extinguished and the old political ideas wrought out through the brain of Thomas Jefferson and which the statesmen of Democracy, in the better ante-bellum days, guarded with unsurpassed devotion, no longer inspire its life or glorify its leadership. Truckling, time serving, consistent in nothing but the desire for spoils, seeking success at any cost of principle, with its pretense of free trade

and free silver in the south and west, and its identification with protection, plutocracy and the gold standard in the east—how can this party of broken promises, lost opportunities and unhappy defeats, be trusted to champion a great cause or bear the hopes of toiling and struggling humanity in the mighty political crisis through which the country is now passing? And yet, vast multitudes of good men gather around this political body from which all real life has fled, and worship it because of the name it bears. It is because of this clinging to effete and lifeless forms—this tyranny which habit and education and inherited prejudice exert over human thought—that men far in advance of the times refuse to abandon existing parties and institutions, vainly imagining that they may be reformed and made the means of correcting abuses which they themselves have fostered and built up to colossal proportions.

These men, with few exceptions, belong to the class of reformers who in all preceding ages have failed because of an inherited incapacity to think outside of or against the existing order. Broken gleams of truth reflected upon the dark surface of social life have thrown a grateful radiance over their minds and they have felt themselves warmed and thrilled with strange sympathy for the suffering and stricken multitude, but they have been overborne and trodden under foot by the sordid and selfish horde who bear the standards of the parties, dictate their policies and control the offices which they dispense as the spoils of victory. A political party thus marshalled and led is as relentless as an invading army, and the men who control its policy and run its campaigns would as readily as Caesar, Alexander or Bonaparte, convert the world into a human slaughter pen, if that were necessary to the gratification of their lust for dominion.

Reform from such source! Never, unless right is to be confounded with wrong and truth with fiction. But is there no hope of reform—no hope for the downtrodden and oppressed? Yes, there is hope; not “hope deferred that maketh the heart sick,” but hope brightening and glowing with ever-increasing effulgence. Great, humane, cultured men have toiled through weary years of investigation, vainly endeavoring to solve the

problem of human life, but few of them have ever penetrated beyond the mere physical basis of existence. Truth, lying within and above the existing order of things, only comes forth when conditions favor to stand in glorious transfiguration before men, and then only to men who win her as a bride. When the opportunity serves she reveals herself to those who reverently wait upon her coming—it may not be in full orbéd splendor, but it will always be in a vision of glory, although shadowed by human infirmities and circumscribed by human limitations. But truth is not found by mere searching; thinking alone does not disclose her. She is seen, loved, embraced as a bride, embodied in the spirit and the life. In all ages the wise and learned have sought her with longings unutterable, unquenchable; but it was given only to certain wise men to see her perfect star in the east; and that star led them to the babe in the manger, the “golden child” of promise. Since then men have been learning the law of human service. “He sleeps in God who wakes and toils with men,” says the rarest of modern reformers. Here is the lesson—the rule—and he who works out the rule in practical life will know truth by an interior recognition far more convincing than any process of human reasoning. The Christ of history was not an ecclesiastic, nor a politician, nor a cultured theorist. He was a “man of the people.” Little cared he for the petty differences among men—for their creeds and dogmas and beliefs. He came and taught and labored, not to inaugurate a system, but to reach and cure the world’s ills which he clearly saw. He was no sciolist—his words carrying a depth of meaning, a potency, a penetrating energy which words only bear when the spirit that fills them comes straight from the fountain of truth. And how simple and plain, how chaste and pure and sweet. They steal over the soul like a gentle breath from paradise, and yet, within that breath one instinctively feels a latent force resides, which, under conditions, may generate a storm of irresistible power.

Yes, Christ saw the cause of human ills, and to reach and cure those ills he came, illustrating in his person and life the lowly condition of the multitude—those who chiefly bear the

world's burdens, who feel the pressure of its hard conditions, and whose life longings are for relief that never comes until eternity brings light and hope to disperse the darkness and despair of time. He was a carpenter, clad no doubt in coarse raiment and pursuing His vocation with diligence and skill. He was poor, very poor. Listen to the plaint that has come down the ages, "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head." Ye tenants that labor and stint that landlords may flourish and grow and fatten upon your toil, behold your sympathizing brother—the landless Savior. At last, says the witty paragrapher, we know the unthinkable—a "land owning savior," and in the statement carries to the common understanding the perception of a great truth. How could Christ, by the private ownership of land, sanction a monopoly of that which the all-Father created for the free use of his children? No, Christ was not a land monopolist. Neither was he a money monopolist. The money changers in the temple seemed most to excite his righteous indignation. "My father's house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." Imagine Christ as a banker, a shaver of notes, a taker of usury! How horrible the thought! The very conception of a savior is profaned by such association of ideas. But Christ did work—glorified industry—ennobled useful toil. How comforting to the tired worker are the words, "My father worketh hitherto and I work." Yes, Christ's mission is especially to the landless, moneyless toilers. Hence the common people heard him gladly, congregated around him to listen, attracted by his strange but gracious words. We may well believe that a genial, humane, benignant spirit diffused itself through all his words and ways. He was not morose nor exclusive, nor was his character tainted with the severity of the sectarist. On the contrary he was broad and genial and social and his sympathies reached to every class and condition of humanity. He did not go around the ruling classes. Nicodemus, the ruler, found him ready to accord him an interview by night. With dignity and grace he sat at the table of the publican, though people called him a glutton and a wine

bibber, and little children found it sweet to be snugged away in His arms and to look with innocent trustfulness into His smiling face. In all of His words there is not a syllable of cant, nothing provincial or common. Still, on an occasion He did not hesitate to denounce wrong, even though hedged about and protected by social power and influence. And throughout His whole career He held aloft the highest moral and ethical standards of life and conduct. His eye was fixed on the absolute right, not so much on the legal or technical. He saw the fatal tendency of men to think in customary and institutional lines and He apparently sought to lift His fellows into the upper realms, where truth, absolute truth, may be viewed in freedom. How fearlessly He rebuked the priestly horde because they condemned Him for setting at naught the sabbath of tradition. Indeed, He only, of all historic personages, seemed by inherited or natural endowments capable of transcending the limitations of His age in giving truth to the world. He thought outside of accepted lines. See how divine forces concentrated upon Him, were embodied in Him—and these by His life and death, in some mysterious way, He worked out into the heart centers of the race.

I am not a theologian, nor even a member of any church, yet in this wonderful man and his work I see the ideal reformer, the one single, complete and symmetrical character of human history, giving his life to the work of arresting the evil tendencies inherent in the world's social and political institutions, upbearing the rule of absolute right in the face of an age given over to superstitious veneration for dead forms and whose highest ideals never rose above the level of the merely technical or legal. There is a profound saying in one of the gospels: "The Holy Ghost was not given because Jesus was not yet glorified." I may not catch the full sense of this passage, but I know that after Christ's death there was a strange quickening among the people, if we may believe what is recorded in the Acts. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost does not strike one as anything more than a simple recital of historical facts and plain truths, yet 3,000 people were converted by his sermon, and of these it is said that they "were together and had all things in com-



mon." Thus whatever may be said of Christ, whether man only, or God-man, His presence in the world strangely and wonderfully moved the common people and the influence which He left in the natural sphere of life aroused an intense sentiment of fraternity in an age and among a people immersed in dead formalities and blindly devoted to ease and priestly rule.

Here was the beginning of Christian socialism. A new force was liberated into the world—vital, fundamental truths thrown upon the currents of public thought, and thus sent drifting down the ages. Was Christ the consummate product of divine evolution, and was the Holy Ghost which He brought with Him but the concentration of forces which make for righteousness, which by the mysterious processes of Providence were gathered and focalized into His personality only to be thence led forth into the human world to transform and uplift and glorify the social man? One thing we know—in spite of terrible reactions, wars and bloodshed and the overflowing of ignorance and crime and brutality since Christ stood forth in that olden time as the redeemer and glorifier of labor, as the Divine King of industry, holding forth the torch of absolute truth among the masses, the spirit of brotherhood has been slowly making its way among men, dropping into social, ecclesiastical and political forms as they afforded it the opportunity for expansion and growth.

It grew in France in the last century, and but for the pressure and resistance of institutions whose strong counter-active influences converted it into moral dynamite, the carnival of blood would not have sent forth its furies to devastate the social system of that fair land, and the republic of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" might have emerged in beauty and glory from the chaos and darkness and tyranny of an effete regime. Passing over the new world it quickened the brain and fired the heart of Thomas Jefferson, who, in profound distrust of government, taught an extreme individualism, thus reacting from governmental paternalism to the opposite extreme. Hence the accepted American theory relegated government to the functions of a mere agency. "The less gov-

erned, the better," became an adage that appealed at once to the statesman, the demagogue, and the private citizen. Government, in the current belief of the times, was charged with only the duty to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of his natural rights—his right to life, liberty, and property. Practically, government was built up on the distinction between *meum* and *tuum*. Thrift, skill, and industry were unchained and turned loose to riot in new fields of unexampled wealth—to gather such harvests as they might under the favoring conditions of soil and climate and free government. As population and wealth increased, competition asserted itself. Individuals became more and more intense and pronounced and the social, fraternal sentiment weakened. Gradually government became more and more complex and powerful as vast interests arose demanding something more than the simple functions of an agency for their protection; and as inventions and corporations grew and multiplied the associative principle drew men together upon the ground of avarice or greed. The individual began to be merged into the corporation and society to separate itself into the classes as special interests and privileges sprang into existence. Meanwhile government was reaching out and touching every part of the social fabric. Once it was hidden from popular gaze in Washington—a simple, frugal, unimportant something only fully understood and known by the inquisitive student, the sage, or the politician. Now its shadow covered the continent; its widely diffused influence was felt everywhere. It became the one potent, irresistible energy whose favor all men sought and for whose protection all interests clamored. The rapidly developing industries demanded the railroad, the telegraph, and the telephone, and all of these came. Government contributed its land, its tariff and its patent laws, its pensions and bounties to accelerate the evil tendencies of the times, to build up great interests and foster special privileges. The monopolization of natural and other resources soon followed, with its inevitable sequences of poverty in the midst of great wealth, social irritation and a chronic conflict between capital and labor.

Land is the free gift of God to man. All men have an equal

right to its use but none to its private appropriation for speculative purposes. Its elements enter as constituents into the formation of our bodies, it forms the solid base of our existence from the cradle to the grave. We walk upon it, breathe its air, drink its waters, draw our nourishment from the substances stored up in it, and when death overtakes us, our bodies repose within its bosom. Deprive us of access to it and we die; open its resources to the free application of our labor and skill and we live and thrive and flourish. Jefferson saw this when he taught that land only belongs in usufruct to the living generation, and that no generation has the right to transmit to posterity burdens upon the land in the shape of bonded indebtedness. We have already burdened this heritage and store house of the race by the creation of bonded indebtedness which future generations may find it difficult, if not impossible to pay, and we have barred off access to it by a vicious policy, under which corporations and individuals have monopolized it for speculative purposes. Cheap lands being no longer accessible, is there any wonder that tramps abound? that the tenant classes are growing in number and that poverty is more and more finding its way into the households of our people? Is there any wonder that the toiling thousands in our towns and cities, no longer able to resort to cheap lands to become their own employers, and thus gather the fruits of their labors, find themselves forced to the wall by a constantly descending scale of wages? Yet courts are running and tenant and landlord alike must bear the ever increasing tax burden made necessary in adjusting land titles and maintaining costly edifices for their preservation!

But society not only requires land, but the means of transportation as well. In our highly organized industrial and social systems, railroads and telegraphs are prime essentials. They are necessary parts of the vast and wonderful mechanism of production by which wealth is created and distributed. We are apt to take a too narrow view of this question of production. We say, in a general way, that land and labor are the primary factors in the production of wealth. This is true in the sense that wealth production begins with the application of labor to land—meaning by land not only soil but all else included in the

physical universe around us. Now, wealth is natural products secured, combined, separated, removed or otherwise modified so as to fit them for the gratification of human desires and for the varied processes or modes of producing wealth implied in this definition, another factor besides land and labor must lend its useful service, viz., capital, which is but surplus wealth employed in the production of more wealth. Without capital, schools and universities would vanish, churches cease to exist and organized charities pass away. Taste, culture and refinement would wither and die as if stricken with a curse; art and science would linger only as dead memories and all the multiplied social agencies which minister to human happiness, comfort and use would disappear forever. Capital! It is the handmaid of labor and the dispenser of blessings to all classes and conditions of humanity.

Unfortunately an unnatural conflict between it and labor has been brought on by the selfishness, the greed and the false teachings of the age, which a better age about to dawn upon the world must settle and compose. The farmer gathers crude seed cotton as the product of his year's toil. This natural substance his labor has drawn from the soil, this he has secured; but how useless would be his acquisition if it should remain in the state in which he puts it in his cotton pen! We are too apt to regard the farmer as the only producer. He only starts the work of production, in one line. The ginner puts his cotton in the form of a bale and thus adds value to it. The ginner is a producer, too. The railroad company transports that bale to the factory and thus adds value to it. It is worth more in the form of a bale than in the farmer's cotton pen; more in the manufacturer's warehouse than in the ginner's yard. The railroad company is a producer, as is also that manufacturer who converts that bale of cotton into woven cloth, for he has added immense value to it. The new forms of wealth—bolts of cotton cloth—are now taken up by our wonderful railroad system and transported to every section of our common country, where they find their way into the retail stores. The retail merchants cut them up into parcels for the convenience of customers, but not until the good housewife with scissors and

needle works it up into garments is that bale of cotton finally made fit for the gratification of human desire. That bale of cotton wrought up and separated into bolts of cloth is worth more upon the shelves of the retail merchant than it was when the manufacturer first converted it into cloth; but how much more valuable is it when, in the form of raiment, it ministers to the comfort and happiness of human beings. Now the retail merchant is a producer of wealth, for he by his labor and skill and capital makes the final use possible; and so also is the honest woman who cuts and sews—it may be in the still, dark hours—in order that the daughter, son and husband may be clad.

Now in all these varied processes, capital has been present as a beneficent, useful factor, aiding labor in the creation of wealth for human service. The farmer's tools and implements are capital, no less than the complicated machinery, the rolling stock and track of the railway corporation; but it is easy to see that in the series of producing forces to which I have alluded none is more vitally necessary than the railroad system. It makes it possible for cotton grown in southern fields to be woven in the distant mill and afterward to be distributed to the consumer in forms convenient for use. It runs its branches through all the industrial system—binding and linking all the industries together in one harmonious whole. Thus it enters into the daily transactions and social history of every community in the land. But the social organism requires the interchange of thought and intelligence no less than the exchange of nature's products, and the age which demands railroads cannot do without telegraphs and telephones. With the practical annihilation of time and space, by which widely separated communities may be brought together and their daily experiences made to interblend and run together, the sense of unity, of oneness, of natural interdependence grows and intensifies until the individual merges into the common or community life.

If the animating principle of that community life be greed, who can measure its power for evil, its destructive and devastating influence! If a sense of brotherhood dwells within and is diffused throughout it, is not this redeemed society? And what

is redeemed society but redeemed and glorified industry? If, therefore, our social and industrial systems are organized upon railroad and telegraph systems, is it not clear that these public utilities which affect the interests of all alike, should not be the subject of private ownership or appropriation? An industry of a public character, exercising the functions of government, including a delegated right of eminent domain, and itself necessarily a monopoly, ought not to be made the instrument of human greed. The power to burden production for private gain by exactions levied in the form of railroad and telegraph tariffs should not be lodged in the hands of individuals. To place the power of regulation in the hands of a commission will not solve the difficulty nor remove the danger. The public must own and control public utilities.

But no reform can be complete which does not involve a change in our financial system—such a radical and sweeping change as will render money monopoly impossible. The demand of the times is money that will circulate. Under the present system the circulating medium is simply put out to find its way into the vaults of the banks, where it is no longer the “tool of exchange,” but the instrument of private greed, the means by which usury may be exacted from labor, skill and thrift. Money! What is it but the means by which the exchange of products is effected? Its function is general and universal, it was designed to serve all the people alike, to facilitate commerce and trade, to develop natural resources of wealth, to promote industry, to bring light and comfort and peace to every home. It was made to circulate, not to be hoarded: it was intended to be the means, not the subject of trade. Yet the present financial system is a cunningly designed scheme by which a combination of banks is enabled to levy a tax periodically upon the entire circulation of the country. Tax the money and you weaken the forces of production. Withdraw money from circulation and the same result follows. Our banking system both taxes money and withdraws it from circulation. More than this, as long as this system exists the liability to constantly recurring panics and stringencies will continue. This money making device by which confidence, often ill-

founded, is converted into capital, and a few men are able to collect interest on the money of whole communities, has no support in ethics or sound finance. Indeed, the banking system has literally nothing in it that tends to exalt the standard of right. There are any number of honorable citizens engaged in the business, but that does not justify the system itself.

It will be found before many years that to make the monopolization of money impossible the government must do the banking. Here, then, we stand upon this high ground of radical opposition to land monopoly, transportation monopoly and money monopoly—monopolies that have gradually grown up in and around our institutions and are gradually prostituting them to the purposes of mere private gain—enriching unduly the very few, impoverishing the many. We raise aloft the standard of right and insist that it shall be applied in our political, no less than in our social and moral life. Indeed, we are endeavoring to erect a higher standard than has ever been applied to our social and religious life, which is largely artificial and conventional. The public conscience is satisfied so long as the conduct is kept within the bounds of law or custom. We may disregard the law of absolute right so long as we conform to the legal or technical rule that society has laid down for itself. Thus, as an advanced thinker remarks, the age tolerates and even approves practices which a coming age will denounce as crimes. The warped and perverted conscience that cannot see the essential wrong involved in allowable practices is largely an inheritance, but more largely the outgrowth of existing laws and institutions with the growth of monopolies, the struggle of life has become sharper and the lot of those not among the favored classes has grown darker and more burdensome. As wealth and population have increased with the interruption or partial suspension of the laws of equitable distribution, the number of those able to acquire wealth and comfort, has been constantly diminishing until now, in a country whose natural resources still transcend the utmost stretch of the imagination, and whose capacity to support population is practically without limit, comparatively few can under the present order hope to reach a condition in which continuous

labor will not be required to support life. "The scramble to get on top," as Henry George calls it, has come with the consequent intensification of greed, deterioration of the moral sense, the weakening of the human sentiment and the lowering of the standards of character.

But, as in the days when Christ preached reformation in Judea, the common people are beginning to hear the truth with gladness. The spirit of humanity which Christ left in the world has not departed, although periodically subjected to partial suppressions. It is here in this wonderful country of ours and among our wonderful people. But it is kindling the fires of reform, not among the socially or politically wise and mighty, but among the untutored masses. In the popular heart "deep is calling unto deep," and the social brotherhood is slowly evolving and growing among the people as breast after breast thrills responsively to the sound of that "calling." For the present, so long as selfishness demands its law of competition, we can only hope to make a successful fight against monopoly—to give back to the people their ownership of public utilities, to enact the "initiative and referendum" by which the country's legislation shall be placed under the direct control of the voters, to recognize the supremacy of the individual in matters of private concern, to restore to the commercial and social world the lost ideas of equity and justice, thus to untrammel legitimate industries and skill and leave them to pursue in freedom the beneficent work of producing wealth; and this reform movement necessarily must, upon humane and economic grounds, include "free trade throughout the world" within its scheme of remedies.

What may be beyond that which is here outlined, only He can know who holds the destinies of the world in the hollow of His hand. Human selfishness must, of necessity, place limitations upon every social or political movement. If it shall ever be transcended, the glorified industries will arise in orderly unity and harmony like the "City of God," and the dream of Bellamy will be a realized fact in concrete social life. As yet, such a state can only, as the millenium, exist in hope. Already Jeffersonian simplicity is transcended—composite age is



dawning upon the world with its quickening and uplifting power.

The transformations already effected and which yet impend are largely due to the fundamental, political truths taught by Jefferson. A crude generation appropriated them only to the demands of an extreme, selfish individualism, but the opening epoch will appropriate them to the demands of social and political justice.



## JUDGE NUGENT'S OPENING SPEECH FOR GOVERNOR

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DELIVERED AT GRANDVIEW, AUGUST 24, 1894.

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The times are ominous and threatening. Capital—organized, arrogant, intrenched in special privileges and inspired by confidence born of recent victories—stands confronted by labor, smarting under defeat, alert, resentful, holding its lines till the fateful hours shall come. Thus the forces, which, harmonized and united, would constitute an invincible army of peace, bearing the banners of triumphant industries and moving in the orderly processions of civilized social life, are hopelessly divided, and by division courting catastrophes and ruin. Capital will not yield, labor cannot surrender unless under the stress of uncontrollable necessity, which to it always comes in times of collision and strife. Men ask, why is this? The commerce of a great nation for the time being is paralyzed; the wheels of transportation no longer revolve; the banker, the lawyer, the merchant finds his mail delayed and impeded; inconvenience and discomfort visit the homes of thousands. Whence all of this disturbance, this sudden, rude suspension of facilities so necessary to social enjoyment, to business and industrial prosperity? The strike—comes the universal response—the strike has caused it all! Down with the strike! Make haste, oh! government of law and order, hurry forward the troops, those time-honored servants of conservative power, and bid them with Gatling gun and rifle, with bayonet and revolver, put an end to this uprising of discontented and despairing labor! What if blood be shed! Must society be deprived of its morn-

ing paper or its privilege of rapid inter-communication for even a few days? No, rather let cannon and rifle, and bayonet and pistol do their dreadful work and mobs of lawless men and women be shot to fragments, than that the railroads should cease to run! It is true the strikers are simply workingmen who refuse to work for reasons of their own, and it is also true that, having the inalienable right to exercise their own judgment in such matters, the government cannot legally force them to work; but what does this signify? The frenzied multitudes rush wildly hither and thither as if impelled by an irresistible, blind impulse. Chicago's slums have emptied themselves upon the community, the vicious classes are out, anarchy threatens the city, business interests are disturbed! Do you not see that the mails are not carried, that inter-state commerce does not move, and that the process of courts, whose decrees have sought to enjoin the exercise of the right to cease from work, is obstructed? What if these are but the incidental effects of the widespread effort of the workingmen to extort justice from reluctant and remorseless employers? Is not the public convenience greater than private right—the dignity of courts more to be esteemed than the personal liberty of the citizen or the sovereignty of the State? And, so, the government mobilizes its troops, a few misguided honest citizens, maddened by long submission to injustice and wrong, are shot down, the mob vanishes as the bayonets advance, exultant capital scores another victory, and labor, defeated, disheartened, sullen, retreats to its old haunts, takes up again its old burdens and trudges along its old, rugged paths. There is no peace in such a situation. Capital has learned that it may rely upon the military arm of the government; labor begins to see that its only reliance is upon itself. There is an enforced truce—a cessation of hostilities for the present—with the certainty of renewal in the future if conditions continue as they are. Meanwhile the statesmanship of the period exhausts itself in suggesting palliatives or expedients—surface measures to quiet the present trouble.

It is only a question with the politician of how to bridge over the ever recurring difficulties between employer and employe by

some makeshift of legislation. The larger question of how to prevent such difficulties, or render them impossible, has not arisen upon his field of vision. He sees the strike, he notes its attendant evils; and then then he flies to some measure of regulation or repression, some scheme of arbitration which no one is bound to obey, and with which, therefore, corporate wealth may soothe while it throttles and enslaves labor. Strikes are but a symptom of the deeper disease, which rankles at the heart of the body politic. Labor has long since learned that it produces the fund from which is derived its own compensation—nay, more, that it not only thus pays its own wages, but gives to capital a bonus for the privilege of doing so. Why should we wonder then, that it refuses to be satisfied with the dole which capital measures off to it, and resents the condition which forces it into the attitude of a mendicant? Why should we wonder, when labor is to-day in an agony to be free, to taste the sweets of independence, to find an open door to its lost opportunities? Why should we wonder, when labor, pressed to the wall, hunted like a wild beast, turns upon its oppressor in pure desperation and fights for its life—fights to maintain its standing place in the world's economic field? The fact that it realizes its dependence upon capital while conscious of its right to be free carries always the promises of conflict and peril. Ignorance and slavery ever go hand in hand. The simple African made the air vocal with merry song while bending beneath the burdens of slavery. 'Twere worldly wise to keep him in the darkness of ignorance; yet even he knew by an irrepressible instinct that Lincoln's soldiers brought to him the breaking of chains—freedom from physical restraints. What cared he for constitutional limitations, or the sanctity of private property? The light of freedom came to him through the gloom of war and he followed it recklessly like a wayward child. It illuminated the pathway that led as he thought to that larger social state, in which it is the privilege of men to own their own bodies, to freely exercise their own faculties and gather the fruits of their own labor. He will soon learn, if he has not already learned, that slavery which makes property of the laborer while guaranteeing the support of life is inexpress-

ibly merciful in comparison with that condition which yields support only by the enslavement of labor. When he comes to know that he also produces the fund out of which capital pays for his toil, a sense of suppressed manhood will drive him into the ranks of labor reformers, whose superior intelligence has long since enabled them to see the central fact of the economic situation, and will ere long enable them to apply the proper remedy. With the spread of information the circle will continue to enlarge until its periphery shall touch every laborer of every class or color—the farmer, the artisan, the wage worker, the clerk, the lawyer, the doctor—in fine all who work with brain or brawn in dependence upon those who hold the world's purse strings; for all alike are victims of the same bad conditions. The unrest which pervades the ranks of labor need not be misinterpreted—ought in fact to be welcomed as an omen of good, since it is the divinely given prophecy of coming good.

The land monopoly has locked up the bounties of nature and capital, holding the key, says to labor, I feed and clothe and shelter you, work on my terms or exercise your legal right to go. To go, whither? The answer as conditions are rapidly maturing must soon be to want, to suffering, to death. Hence labor accepts the terms, however hard, though with the tacit reservation, that he who is the victim of such wrongful conditions is justified by every principle of right in seeking the earliest possible opportunity to escape from them. A quickened sense of manhood—manhood which he knows to be laboring under unjust suppression—manhood forced into an attitude of unnatural dependence—must continue to drive the workingman into revolt against the social and industrial mal-adjustments, by means of which those “who neither toil nor spin” are enabled to absorb the produce of his labor. Here is found the guaranty of ever-recurring labor troubles, the boycotts, the lockouts and the strikes with all of their unhappy and dangerous consequences.

These industrial paroxysms are, however, object lessons, and they have in large measure disclosed to the masses what has been for some time apparent to the philosophical student of re-

cent history, viz.; that the spirit of plutocratic capitalism is the dominating force in our organized social and industrial life. Yes, it gathers the fruits of industry and divides them at its will. It controls and manipulates with almost unbridled power and license, every function of trade and finance. Its speculative lust finds opportunities of gain in the tolls levied upon the right to occupy the earth. It denies to the people the heritage which the Creator gave them "without money and without price." It gathers into its storehouse the bounties which nature designed for the common use of all. The treasures of soil and forest, of water, and air, and sunshine, are poured at its feet. The subtle forces that run their mysterious circuits in invisible realms are chained to its chariot wheels. It robs genius of its glory, makes of intellect a drudge and a slave, and utilizes the achievements of science to raid the stock markets and enlarge the margin of profits. Thus it wipes out as with a sponge the distinction between right and wrong, makes merchandise of the noblest ideals, sets gain before the world as the highest end of life, and converts men into predatory human animals. As another has said, it substitutes the "rule of gold for the golden rule;" and after devoting six days of the week to the prosecution of schemes for the exploitation of labor, on the seventh it invades the sanctuaries of religion, where its votaries may often be found close to the holy altar, joining with seeming reverence in services rendered to the incarnate spirit of truth and love. Fortunately, for our christian civilization, there are heroic men and women from whose minds the foul spirit of greed has not been able to drive the sweet ideals planted in the world's thought by the Son of the Galilean carpenter. But for these, spiritual hope would perish from the Earth. Capital could never have attained such ascendancy, but for the legislation which has given it unjust advantages and enabled it to monopolize both natural resources and public functions and utilities. Every person is entitled by the law of natural justice to possess and enjoy the fruits of his own skill and industry. Give to all equal opportunities, and under the operation of this law each would get his just share of the world's wealth; but give to any man the right to take not only the pro-

duce of his own labor but a portion of that which is derived from the labor of his neighbor, and you unjustly increase his opportunities of gain. Give to a few individuals organized into a corporation the right to dispense for a price services of a necessary and public character—services essential to the existence and well-being of organized society—and you arm them with the power to levy tribute upon the whole community, and acquire wealth almost without limit. You in other words provide for those consummate products of present economic conditions, the millionaire and the tramp.

By the telegraph, telephone and railway monopolies, the monopolies of money and land, it is easy to see that we have placed in the hands of individuals and corporations the power to levy toll upon all the productive industry of the country—to virtually place all the labor of the country under tribute to a mere fraction of the population. And when we consider the vast and all pervading power and influence acquired by means of industries thus brought under the dominion of the few, every intelligent mind must see at a glance, that we could not in any other way have provided conditions so favorable to the undue concentration of wealth. And let it be remembered, that it is not the excessive production of wealth, but its unequal distribution, which constitutes the menacing evil of the times. Under normal conditions, the greater the production of wealth, the more widely diffused would be its benefits. As population increases and society becomes more highly organized, so ought the means and facilities of civilized life to be more and more within the reach of the great body of the people, and the comforts and conveniences of life to more and more abound. The point ought to be thus reached at which poverty would disappear. Such a condition could only be brought about, however, in a community all of whose members were afforded fair opportunity for the exertion of their faculties; for thus only could each be enabled to produce a proportion of the common stock of wealth and participate in the general enrichment derived from the co-operating efforts of all. In such a community there could be no material waste, no check in production, no



limitation to the aggregate wealth by means of monopoly or the possession of unjust advantages. To produce results of this kind, nothing is needed but to destroy monopoly in those things which productive industry must have for practical use. Protect these from the speculative greed of men, disembarass trade of arbitrary legal interference, give free play to competition within the proper sphere of individual effort and investment, and steadily oppose those extreme socialistic schemes which seek by the outside pressure of mere enactments or systems, to accomplish what can only come from the free activities of men—do these things, and you will have achieved the real, genuine and lasting reforms which labor and capital equally need, and which in fact are the only practical reforms lying within the range of party action.

The social condition is now almost desperate, and it is not confined to our own country. Both its evils and its causes are world-wide. Senator Stewart, exceptionally well informed on such subjects, says that "the wages of 60,000,000 people now living upon the globe average from one cent to six cents a day," and we know that in this country statistics show that 91 per cent. of the population own only 29 per cent. of the aggregate wealth. Millionaires are so common and wealth accumulations so rapid, that it seems only a question of a few years when Billionaires will make their appearance. Inevitably, as the concentration of wealth goes on, pauperism must continue to grow and spread among the people. Already in Paris, France, one out of every eighteen, and in London, England, one out of every forty of the population are paupers; and yet in both cities the wealth of the few is fabulous. That the monopolization of land and transportation facilities is chiefly instrumental in producing the concentrations of wealth which all recognize and deplore is conspicuously shown in the case of the Astors, whose real estate values mount into the hundreds of millions of dollars, and that of the Vanderbilts, who have absorbed possibly even more of the national wealth. These are merely striking illustrations of what every man with open eyes may read in facts lying within the common reach of all. Nor need we think that this vast concentration of wealth in the hands of the few

is in this country without its unhappy effects on the balance of the population. In the larger cities and the more densely populated rural districts pauperism is increasing. Mr. Flower in his little book "Civilization's Inferno," has given unimpeachable evidence of the existence of poverty and wretchedness in Boston, the Athens of America, so utterly squalid and hopeless that one with the horrible picture before his mental vision is almost tempted to doubt whether justice has any place in the affairs of men. Yet such conditions exist in all the larger cities where wealth accumulations are greatest.

Wages have only been maintained by labor organizations; but recent events convey the warning, that the apprehension of strikes will soon have spent its force, and then corporate wealth, no longer under its spell, will boldly throw off the mask behind which it has been masquerading as the friend of labor, and freely cut wages to enhance the gains of capital. The example of the Pullman Company will not be without its legitimate fruit; but while it carries to corporate wealth throughout the country a suggestive illustration of how the workingman may be fleeced and robbed with impunity, it may serve to accentuate the evil of monopoly which now overshadows and darkens the world's productive labor. Pullman's monopoly from the standpoint of capital, is simply ideal. Here is a corporation owning a tract of land on which it has erected a great car-building plant, churches, school-houses, and dwelling houses in which to keep its thousands of employes. It waters its stock, until property representing \$10,000,000 of invested capital is converted into a dividend paying investment of more than \$36,000,000.00, without the addition of a dollar of real value. To enable it to continue its periodical dividend payments and so maintain the value of this watered stock, it cuts the wages of its employes in a period of depression and panic, but still remorselessly collects its exorbitant rent. Here the laborer is both tenant and employe—the victim at once of both usury and rent. He is dependent upon Pullman for work, for the opportunity to earn wages, to feed and clothe his family—he is dependent upon Pullman for standing-place on the earth. Thus Pullman holds a monopoly of the land which is nature's

divinely given opportunity to work, and of the opportunity artificially created by the investment of capital. By the wages which Pullman pays to his employe, the employe is enabled to pay rent to Pullman. When wages cease, rent ceases; but eviction follows the cessation of rent. Thus the apprehension of eviction which means loss of home to the laborer and his family, hangs perpetually over the latter to enforce silence and submission, when wages are cut to make dividends for fictitious stock. If the situation suggests the impolicy of cutting wages, capital may still maintain its margin of profit by raising the scale of rent. In a big city land values are ever advancing, and the landlord finds in this fact an always present justification for increasing rent. Who will contend that the employe of Pullman, working under such conditions, is a free-man. Yet, the employes of every mining corporation in the country, except in the few instances in which the local laws have afforded some mitigation, are in a condition of servitude even worse, if possible, than that which prevails at Pullman. Extend the two-fold scheme of monopoly and spoliation so cunningly devised by the Pullman Company to all the corporations handling large investments in mining, manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, and the condition of the wage-worker and artisan would become utterly hopeless and helpless. And that our public policies must rapidly carry us in this direction has been made more evident by the recent injection of the element of force into the settlement of labor disputes. Heretofore, controversies between railroad companies and their employes, although accompanied by the incidental stoppage of the mails and the interruption of interstate commerce, have not been regarded as presenting conditions of violence justifying the use of the regular army.

The great strike of 1886 was attended by not only these inconveniences but by domestic violence of a very serious character, involving the destruction of property and loss of life. Yet it did not then occur to the national authorities that the general government ought to interfere. It was left for the administration which claims to represent the party of strict construction and state rights, to send the regular army into the

State of Illinois against the protest of her executive, profess- edly for the purpose of suppressing insurrections against the national authority, to protect the property and enforce the laws of the United States, but in reality to aid the railways in over- coming the strike. It was and is claimed by some that Debs and his fellow-strikers had entered into a combination to pre- vent the carriage of the mails and obstruct the movement of inter-state commerce; but the history of this unfortunate and ill-advised strike will be searched in vain for a single declara- tion of Debs or his followers showing anything more criminal than a common purpose to quit the service of the railway com- panies, and thus by preventing the hauling of Pullman sleep- ers to bring about a settlement between the Pullman company and its employes. The intent to oppose the enforcement of a United States law or the execution of the process of United States courts, or to obstruct the movement of inter-state com- merce, was clearly not embraced within a general purpose di- rected against private railway corporations alone, and looking to cessation of service and its resulting inconvenience to such corporations as a means of compelling the equitable adjustment of a wage question.

It is admitted that in the settlement of such questions the national authority could not be invoked, and it doubtless will not be contended by fair minded men that there was any ex- pressly announced purpose on the part of Debs and his follow- ers, in going into the strike, that impressed upon the strike itself the character of an insurrection, or rebellion, or a riotous combination or domestic violence. But after the strike was on, the lawless and vicious classes swarmed forth from the slums of Chicago, and aided possibly by some intemperate and reck- less strikers, began the dreadful work of arson and robbery. Here was a clear case of a mob taking advantage of a peculiar condition to violate the law and destroy private property. At the worst it was a case of "domestic violence" against which the national government is required by the Constitution to pro- tect the State on application of its legislature and executive. To say that the President could constitutionally under such cir- cumstances, on his own motion send the army to Chicago, to

virtually supercede the civil authorities, take possession of the city, make arrests, shoot and bayonet law-breakers as public enemies—in fact to treat the case as in all essential respects one of overt and actual war, to do all of this against the will of the State executive expressly asserting his ability to handle the situation, is to fly in the face of all precedent and the plain spirit of the organic law. The condition however had not, when the army was ordered to Chicago, reached the stage of actual violence. The justification therefore for this extraordinary step must rest not in the existence of domestic violence, but in the fact that the demonstrations of the strikers and their sympathizers incidentally impeded the mails, obstructed inter-state commerce and imperiled the public property—and in the further alleged fact that the strikers themselves were resisting the enforcement of the “omnibus” injunction decree. These facts however, fall far short of affording even a reasonable excuse for the action taken by Mr. Cleveland. When carefully considered the real facts disclose at the worst only a case of riotous gatherings of people, differing only from ordinary mobs in the extent of the demonstrations and the number of persons engaged in them. Congress has power to “declare war,” to “raise and support armies,” to “provide and maintain a navy,” to “provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasion,” and it is made the duty of the United States to “guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, to protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.”

An eminent judge of the Supreme Court of the United States construing these various provisions says, “Some mistake has arisen here probably from not adverting to the circumstance that Congress can alone declare war, and that all other conditions of violence are regarded by the Constitution as but ordinary cases of private outrage, to be punished by prosecutions in the Courts; or as insurrections, rebellions or domestic violence, to be put down by the Civil Authorities aided by the militia; or, when these prove incompetent, by the general government

when appealed to by a State for aid and matters appear to the general government to have reached the extreme stage, requiring more force, to sustain the Civil Authorities of a State, or requiring a declaration of war and the exercise of all its extraordinary rights." Yes, "when appealed to by a State for aid and matters appear to the general government to have reached the extreme stage" and this is said with reference to "insurrections, rebellions, or domestic violence," after the Civil Authorities aided by the militia have proven incompetent. The views of Judge Woodbury, though expressed in a dissenting opinion, have never been seriously questioned, and they seem to be too reasonable and sound to admit of controversy. Certainly the Civil disorder attending the Debs strike was at its worst no greater than that which during the great strike of 1877 occasioned a loss of ten millions of dollars worth of private property in one County alone in Pennsylvania, and in neither can the disturbance be said to have been more than "domestic violence." In the Pennsylvania strike, the regular army was not used. Why was it hastened to Chicago, accompanied by proclamations and military orders in all respects similar to those with which the people of the North and South were familiar something over thirty years ago? Was it because in the Civil Institutions of the country the spirit of plutocracy had at last become ascendant, and that by the very irony of fate it had first found definite embodiment in an administration chosen by the party of strict construction?

The learned judge to whom I have referred said further in the opinion from which I have quoted, "On the contrary it seems very obvious, as before suggested, that in periods of civil commotion, the first and only legal measure to test the rights of parties and sustain the public peace under threatened violence is to appeal to the laws and the judicial tribunals. When these are obstructed or overawed, the militia are to be ordered out, but only to strengthen the civil power in enforcing its processes and upholding the laws. Then in extreme cases, another assistance is resorted to in the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. And finally, if actual force, exercised in the field against those in battle array and not liable to be subdued in

any other manner, becomes necessary, as quasi-war, whether against a foreign foe or rebels, it must first as to the former, be declared by Congress, or recognized and allowed by it as to the latter, under the duty of the United States, 'to protect each of them against invasion' and 'against domestic violence.' (Art. 4, Sec. 4.) When this is not done in a particular case by Congress, if then in session, it is done by the president in conformity to the Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 8) and the Act of Congress of February 28, 1795, to "provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions." This is wiser language than ever emanated from Judge Cooley, wiser because more filled with the true spirit of the Constitution. The Constitution lodges the power to declare war in Congress exclusively. To make this effective, it also delegates to Congress the power to "raise and support armies." Nowhere does it expressly authorize the employment of the regular army in enforcing the law, or in suppressing insurrections or "domestic violence." For this purpose Congress was given the power to "provide for calling forth," not the army, but the militia, the "citizen soldiery." And as if to provide against invasions of states rights in the use of this force, while the power is given to Congress to "provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States" the Constitution expressly reserved to the states respectively the "appointment of the officers and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress." Indeed, the regular or standing army has never in the history of this country been regarded as a law-enforcing body, but rather as one appropriate to a state of war requiring something more than the militia for the "Common defense." It is only when "conditions of violence" reach the stage of war, or quasi-war, and actual force, exercised in the field against those in battle array and not apt to be subdued in any other manner, becomes necessary," that the use of the regular army can be justified, for then only can the war-making power of the general government be constitutionally brought into exercise.

The standing army is raised for war, to cope with a public enemy in "battle array," not to quell civil disturbances, or mere local revolts, still less to suppress disorderly mobs of men and women, and least of all to guard and protect private property against thieves and incendiaries. Let it be understood, that the regular or standing army is but the instrument or weapon provided under the Constitution to give effect to the war-making power and that its use, therefore, is properly restricted to emergencies which call that power into exercise—let this be understood, and it can be seen at a glance how little there was in the emeute at Chicago to warrant the President in turning that community over to the tender mercies of General Miles and his battalions. Governor Altgeld, in his letter to Mr. Cleveland protesting against the use of the army, declares that up to that time he had received no request from either citizen or official for the use of State militia at Chicago, and that there were then in Chicago three regiments of infantry, one company of artillery, and one troop of cavalry, belonging to the State forces and ready for use at any time in quelling disturbances. Yet, the President in advance of any actual violence, upon a theory invented for the occasion, and finding its only support in laws which have always been severely denounced by Southern Democrats as invasions of State rights (*viz.*: a Republican war measure of 1861 and the the "Klulux" Act of 1871), ignores the Governor, and without note of warning hurries his battalions to the front. Even after this, in the first serious collision with the mob, the State forces alone took part. The coming of Gen. Miles with his troops seemed indeed to precipitate a crisis, and make matters worse. In the case of the whisky rebellion in Pennsylvania, the people in several counties had openly combined to resist the collection of revenue through a Federal statute. President Washington, though a Federalist, first called on the executive of Pennsylvania to aid the civil authorities in enforcing the law by means of the local militia, and when finally his administration determined, after more than three years of waiting, to resort to extraordinary measures, he still was careful to seek and obtain the co-operation of the governor in the execution of such



measures. And lest the just boundaries imposed by the constitution might be overstepped, the militia had strict orders not to act independently themselves, but to simply accompany the civil officers and support them in their executing the process of the courts. Here was a case of open, avowed insurrection against the national authority, and yet the use of State troops was held in strict subordination to the civil authorities. In Chicago there was nothing resembling an insurrection—at its worst it was merely a case of domestic violence. If any subject of national jurisdiction was affected at all, it was only collaterally so and might have resulted from almost any local lawlessness in almost any section of the country. Yet, upon a mere constructive resistance of national law, Mr. Cleveland virtually turns the case over to the discretionary control of regular army officers. Justification for the use of the regular army can never arise under the Constitution upon any mere collateral or incidental effects likely to flow from domestic violence, nor upon a mere constructive infringement of national authority. When justification exists at all, the conditions of violence can never be matters of dispute or doubt—they must from their nature present a case of open and actual war or quasi war. To what extent the President's disregard of old landmarks of construction may be traceable to the influence of the corporation lawyer who is the legal adviser of his administration may never be known; but Mr. Cleveland is apparently more affected by a condition than a theory, and why he recognized the condition rather than the theory of constitutional construction involved in the recent strike may be inferred from what is said in the the following editorial taken from the *New York World* of July 5th:—

“An esteemed contemporary refers to Mr. Olney as having ‘left the service of the corporations to become Attorney General;’ he has never left the service of the corporations. He simply took a public position in which his services to them would be more valuable. Does his interference in the Western Railroad Strikes look as if he had ceased to serve the corporations? They could afford to pension him for life for this one service if he had never rendered another.” The essay of Gen-

eral Miles in the North American Review giving his impressions of the object lessons in constitutional construction so vividly given at Chicago is a fitting epilogue to this tragedy in real life. Mr. Cleveland, however, has been sustained by the leading men of both the old parties, with few exceptions, and by Democratic Conventions all over the country. As I write the great harmonious democratic convention at Dallas has added its voice to the chorus of hallelujas, by which exultant strict constructionists throughout the country are expressing their extreme joy over the stinging defeat, which arbitrary military power has administered to organized labor. Fortunately however, there are a few robust patriots like Gov. Hogg who have bravely sounded the alarm. They see plainly that beneath this shadow of arbitrary military power thus projected into State affairs, the spirit of freedom must suffer the chill of death. They are making the appeal from Cæsar to the people—to the people who cannot be overawed and who have never failed to take care of their own liberties. The party leaders who could not tolerate deputy marshals around the polls for the ostensible purpose of protecting the purity of the ballot cast at elections confessedly within the constitutional power of Congress to regulate, stand committed to the use of a more dangerous power in matters peculiarly within the jurisdiction and control of the States. When such appeal is made populists cannot be indifferent. In Texas they have declared unequivocally in favor of "local self-government." Their political action and utterances must be in keeping with this noble declaration; and to give it effect, they invite the co-operation of those patriotic democrats who, sharing with them the views here expressed on this momentous question, can find no sympathy or co-operation within their own organization. But if this unwarranted use of the military arm of the government is dangerous when viewed as a question affecting the rights of the States and the liberties of the citizen, the danger is greatly enhanced by the fact, that the precedent in effect commits the government to a policy of force extorted in behalf of organized capital in its conflicts with labor. Unless a civil revolt effected at the ballot box shall speedily drive the government back to strict constitu-

tional methods, the advance of organized capital towards absolute dominion over labor must be greatly accelerated by the immense advantage thus acquired, since it is not to be presumed, that the monopolies which have been fostered and built up by vicious public policies will fail to grasp the full significance of this last step which the national government has taken in their behalf. Labor however can only hope to achieve a victory worthy of the name by strictly peaceable and orderly methods.

The power with which the corporations are now armed cannot be overcome by strikes, which at best are unwise and oftentimes unjustifiable. Besides, the conditions they leave behind are frequently worse than those which aroused and provoked them. In addition to all of this, it must be remembered, that corporations are but aggregations of individuals, and individuals are very much alike in whatever business or pursuit they may be engaged. Unfortunately the laboring man is not always unselfish, but, fortunately, the capitalist is not always sordid. It is a fact that calls for grateful recognition, that among all classes, in every trade, business, or calling, there are noble, humane, fair-minded men, whose sympathies quickly respond to the demands of justice, whose hearts are deeply affected by wrongful conditions, and who are not practical reformers battling for the people's rights because, involved in the general movement and organized social life of the times, the view-point from which they regard economic questions prevents them from recognizing fundamental truths which are now rapidly coming forth into the common thought of the people. Wealth acquired in legitimate ways, by the exercise of the industry and skill and the investment of capital, cannot hurt either its possessor or the community. It is the spirit of gain run to riot in monopolies, that poisons and corrupts the fountains of individual and social life: and against this spirit must the efforts of populists be directed. But in combatting monopoly, let us never forget that neither force nor infringement of individual liberty is justifiable or safe. Let us remember that we ought above all others to set ourselves against anarchy in every form, against every measure calculated to break down the security which the laws afford to private property, and in favor only of those lawful and

orderly methods which can always be successfully defended, and the observance of which will never fail to enlist for the workingman the sympathies of the good and worthy people of every class. Let us cultivate the duty of submission to lawful authority, and in times of civil commotion, be first to give it support in its conflicts with the lawless. A good cause committed to violent methods inevitably finds in them its grave. An intelligent ballot is the only refuge of justice and liberty. Democratic policies will not reach and cure existing evils. England has for more than fifty years had a tariff system which more closely approximates free trade than any thing we can hope to obtain in the next twenty-five years. Yet England is frequently convulsed with strikes of fearful magnitude, wealth accumulations in the hands of the few have there grown to vast proportions, pauperism exists in the most aggravated forms and is steadily increasing, and the labor question is as with us the most vital of all public questions. During the past winter two thousand bare-footed children were fed at the charity soup houses of London in one day, so it was stated in the newspapers, and it is also said, that many more went away unfed because the soup would not go around. This, in the capital city of the great credit nation, whose capitalists lend money to all other nations, and dominate every field of finance and trade throughout the habitable globe.

This creditor nation has not only had free trade for more than fifty years, but the single gold standard for a much greater length of time. And worse still, it has had land monopoly in its most aggravated form for many years. Under protection and practically the same kind of a money system, with land monopoly rapidly growing to enormous proportions, we have been for the past thirty years rapidly producing the same social conditions.\*

Tariff for revenue only, free trade, protection, each alike will fail to afford a full solution of the real difficulty, and now that the Democratic administration has brought forth a tariff

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\* "In Darkest England," written by General Booth, is appropriately supplemented by "If Christ Came to Chicago," written by Wm. T. Stead, an English journalist.

bill not only recognizing the principle of protection, but specially designed to build up a sugar trust from which both of the old parties have heretofore derived campaign funds, it may be safely assumed that the fight for free trade has been lost, unless it shall be taken up and fought out by the People's party on rational lines. The plank of the National Democratic platform declaring protection to be unconstitutional must therefore be set down as mere buncombe, especially in view of the fact that the much-vaunted Wilson bill, as originally introduced, provided for the continuance of the sugar bounty for eight years—that is to say, for a violation of the constitution for eight years longer.

The silver declaration in the National Democratic platform of 1892 was never intended as a free coinage plank. Mr. Cleveland, before his first inauguration, in a letter written to a number of Democratic congressmen who sought his views on the question, emphatically declared his opposition to the continued coinage of silver, and throughout the whole of his first administration reiterated his opposition in, I believe, every message delivered by him to Congress. In this opposition he was supported by every member of his cabinet, and particularly by his two secretaries of the Treasury. About a year before his last nomination, in a letter addressed to a public meeting in New York City, he repeated his opposition in terms almost insulting to the advocates of free silver—denouncing any independent action of the government to provide for free coinage as a “dangerous and reckless experiment.”

These views thus publicly expressed were known and understood throughout the entire country, and so notorious were they that Senator Coke, in an eloquent and powerful speech delivered in the United States Senate some months before the meeting of the Chicago Convention, strongly criticised Cleveland for his unrelenting opposition to the white metal, and declared in the most impressive manner that his nomination for the presidency in 1892 would destroy all hope of free silver for four years. When the Chicago Convention met, Mr. Cleveland's friends, including members of his first cabinet were on hand to shape the silver plank in his interest. In vain did

Patterson of Colorado beg for the insertion of the word "free" before "coinage," in order to satisfy the western silver men, that democracy was not inimical to their interests. The ex-president's friends refused this small concession and so shaped the silver plank that the most pronounced and determined enemy of free coinage in the Union could stand upon it. When adopted, this plank met with the unqualified endorsement of the business men of New York, the great newspapers of that city and all of Mr. Cleveland's Eastern friends—all with one voice declaring the plank superior to the silver plank of the republican platform, and all congratulating the country on the fact, that with Mr. Cleveland's election, the country would for four years at least, be safe from the so-called dangers of free silver coinage. Notwithstanding all of this, and the further fact that a large and respected element of the democratic party in Texas in 1892 supported the Cleveland construction of the silver plank in a campaign largely turning upon this issue, the opposite view, in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, as embodied in the Hogg platform met with the overwhelming endorsement of the people of Texas, who were persuaded to believe that the carshed platform was entirely consistent with that of the national democracy on this great question. After Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, the open assault on silver, which had been kept down during the campaign was begun with vigor and determination, and continued until the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act was effected, thus destroying the silver mining industries and effectually closing the mints to silver, except to the extent that a hostile cabinet might grudgingly permit a limited coinage of the idle bullion already owned by the government. Since that fateful stoppage of silver coinage, no intimation has been given by the administration that the effort to secure international agreement will ever be renewed, and although the friends of repeal predicted returning prosperity and a speedy demand from England for an international conference to effect the restoration of silver to its ancient place in the world's coinage, not one of these predictions has been verified.

On the contrary, panic, monetary stringency and falling

prices have continued to vex and distress the people, leaving them little to hope for in the future in the way of relief from present unhappy conditions. But this is not all. The candidate for the United States Senate, who has received well nigh unanimous Democratic endorsement, and the five Democratic candidates for governor, have spoken all over the state in favor of free coinage at the present ratio of 16 to 1, and have freely advocated this measure as a means of bringing about an enlargement of the volume of circulation, the necessity of which all have conceded. Yet, the Democratic State Convention, with a degree of recklessness almost surpassing belief, endorses Cleveland's anti-silver policy without any qualification whatsoever. It is thus definitely settled, that the organized Democracy of Texas stand committed to the indefinite maintenance of the present monetary status. I say indefinite, because confessedly Cleveland only consents that silver be reinstated through international agreement, and it is impossible to believe that England, without whose co-operation an international agreement can never be reached, will at any time within the near future consent to such adjustment. For more than half a century she has steadily, unremittingly schemed to bring about the general adoption of the single gold standard. This policy has enriched beyond calculation her monied men, and, now that she has after so many years of effort succeeded in dragooning her greatest rival into the adoption of her monetary basis, it is the height of folly to presume that she can be induced to enter into negotiations which might result in the loss of that financial supremacy which her time-honored policy has brought her. There is now but one free silver party. That party having promulgated its faith in the Omaha platform, makes its direct appeal to the American people in favor of an independent American policy, and in opposition to that spirit of subserviency which has basely surrendered the interests of our people into the hands of an oligarchy of British bankers and bondholders. We will champion the cause of the thousands of people in the West who have been driven into poverty by the hostility of the present administration to silver, and of the farmers and laboring men of the South and West who, by the same policy, have

been the victims of falling prices and low wages. We will stand for American manhood which is so largely involved in this resistance to foreign dictation. In the interest of all the people we will fight for silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1, and on this issue gladly accept from Democracy the gage of battle.

Not only has democracy failed to give us free silver, or tariff for revenue only, but its large majority in the house has not sufficed to pass the only measure proposed by their national platform for an increase of the circulation, viz: the repeal of the 10 per cent tax on state bank circulation. Col. Chilton more than two years ago in a set speech advocated this measure and the establishment of state banks of issue, as a means of supplying local circulation in the states. Judge Reagan in his letter to Mr. Moore of Brownwood advocated the same means of securing "local supplies of money." These views thus advocated by Col. Chilton and Judge Reagan were incorporated into the platform on which the Hogg democracy won the victory of 1892.

The demand for this same measure stands virtually in the national democratic platform to-day. In the present campaign, Judge Reagan with his well-known tenacity has continued to press this view, but significantly enough it has been ignored by Col. Chilton, who now sees in free coinage of silver the only means of expanding the currency. Col. Chilton is a very able man—a young and growing man, and it is possibly this which has enabled him to grow within the period of two years out of the state bank delusion. John C. Calhoun away back in the thirties saw the fatal tendencies of this system of state banks of issue, and in a great speech stated his opinion in the following language: "Of all institutions affecting the great question of the distribution of wealth, a question least explored and the most important of any in the whole range of political economy, the banking institution has, if not the greatest, one of the greatest and I fear most pernicious influences." This institution which in Mr. Calhoun's opinion has such a "pernicious" influence on the question of the distribution of wealth, tending as he believed to produce an unjust concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, is to-day the only means of expanding



the currency which the democratic platform offers the country. The practical abandonment of this measure by the democratic Congress leaves us very much in the dark as to what other expedient future democratic conventions may devise to meet the pressing demand for more money, or for that matter, whether in view of the complete elimination of silver coinage, an increase in the currency enters at all into the democratic scheme of relief—if indeed there is any such scheme. We have the democratic party now committed to protection against free silver, and in favor of the use of the regular army by the president of his own motion and on his own judgment in putting down strikes and mob violence in the states. All of these things the republican party favors, with the difference chiefly that they would fix the tariff schedules somewhat higher than those enacted in the Senate bill. The Senate bill is doubtless better than the McKinley bill, or rather, in its degree of badness, judged from a stand-point of rational free trade, not so objectionable as that consummate achievement of republican protection ingenuity; but the result at best is discouraging enough when viewed as the outcome of thirty odd years of discussion, conducted, at least in the south, on lines laid down by the "time honored principles of the democratic party." All of this failure to rise to the magnitude of a great occasion is clearly the result of inability to grasp the full situation, which needs, not palliatives, but a radical cure of social ills.

The position of the People's party is that the causes of the widespread depression in the industrial world and its attendant evils lie deeper than the tariff question—that they in fact are to be found in the monopolies of land, money and transportation, which have grown up all over the civilized world. All wealth is produced by labor applied to land. This is a universal truth applicable to all social conditions whatever. The free production of wealth and its wide and equitable diffusion among the people depend upon the free and active employment of labor, and, as labor cannot be effectually employed without the use of land, any policy which virtually withdraws land from use and places it beyond the reach of labor, must necessarily result in diminished production, enforced idleness, reduced consump-

tion, and widespread poverty and distress. The monopolization of land, therefore, by individuals or corporations, for speculative purposes, tends to produce all of these unhappy results, since it practically prevents labor from having access to it. The monopolization of certain portions of the earth's surface for agricultural or other useful purposes is not an evil, since all of these uses are beneficial in themselves, and strictly in the line of legitimate production. Speculation holds land out of use altogether, until enhanced values produced by the settlement and improvement of the country enable the owner to reap a harvest of wealth by its sale. Now, these enhanced values are the products not of the owner's labor but of the labor, skill and investments of entire communities. In Texas vast bodies are owned by non-residents who not only evade the payment of taxes for many years at a time, but withhold their lands from use, and finally sell at greatly enhanced prices. Now, no populist advocates the policy of destroying land titles, nor do they favor the subdivision of property: nor the limitation of land ownership, but they recognize the fact, that the acquisition or monopolization of large bodies of land for speculative purposes only—that is to say, for the mere purpose of holding it out of use and finally disposing of it at enormously increased values to which the owner has not contributed by an hour's labor or the investment of a dollar in productive industry, is a great evil for which a remedy ought to be found. A partial remedy is suggested in the reclamation of unearned railway grants and the prevention of corporate ownership beyond the actual needs of the corporation's business. There are other remedies which will readily suggest themselves to intelligent legislators, but which need not here be noticed. The Omaha platform declares, that "the land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes." It will be seen, that this declaration is against land monopoly for speculative purposes, not against land-ownership for possession and use. It recognizes a great and constantly growing evil, and declares a truth which all intelligent and humane men will recognize at a glance.

The national democratic platform itself arraigns the republican party for squandering the public lands which are declared by it to be the "people's heritage." Now while titles to lands acquired from the government are to be recognized and protected, and while populists are far from seeking to destroy them, surely it is proper that, by some constitutional legislation, remedies should be provided to check speculation in land by which millions of our people have been prevented from providing homes for their families, and untold wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and corporations—thus robbing productive industry of that which under normal and proper conditions it would have acquired. No land policy, however, can be complete which does not provide for such laws as will compel the proper assessment of unused land, so largely held by non-resident owners, and upon which taxes are habitually left unpaid. Our laws are in many respects so defective, that under our Supreme Court decisions it is doubtful whether a valid tax title can now be made. Since these decisions were rendered, no effort has apparently been made to remedy the defects, and yet it is perfectly practicable to do so, and thus secure valid tax titles to the purchasers at tax sales, subject to the two years privilege of redemption. Such amendments should be enacted at once.

Here then are the remedies we propose, viz: the destruction of transportation monopoly, money monopoly and the monopolization of land for speculative purposes. We in Texas favor a policy of tariff reform, far more effective and less destructive to our own interests, than the only policy which the democratic administration has been able to give the country. Thorough, equitable revision in every direction is the policy of populists; but they oppose the policy which, while destroying the great wool industry of this State, builds up the manufacturing interests of New England. We will go to any proper length in a comprehensive reduction of tariff schedules, upon a fair and equitable rule, but we insist that with either free trade or protection, there can be no permanent relief until the three great monopolies named shall have been shorn of their power to tax and exploit labor; and as measures looking to this end, we

favor government ownership of railroads to the extent necessary to control rates, government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines and other public utilities, the abolition of all private banks of issue, whether national or state, free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and the emission of paper currency by the direct act of government. These with postal savings banks, and other like measures, we believe will relieve the prevalent distress and lift from labor the burdens which now oppress it.

With reference to State policy, we favor legislation in line with the demands of organized labor, including that for the effective arbitration of labor disputes. Arbitration must, to be productive of any practical good, be such as the law can enforce, and to provide for arbitration of this kind it is doubtless necessary that the State constitution should be amended. Whatever can be done on this line we stand pledged to do. Furthermore if entrusted with the administration of state affairs, there will be no undoing of what has been accomplished by Gov. Hogg's administration for the welfare of the people of the State. The commission law, the laws regulating the issuing of bonds by railroads, corporations and by counties, cities and towns, the law prohibiting perpetuities, by which corporations can no longer acquire and hold land above the needs of their business, a law against alien land ownership—all of these and other beneficial laws now upon the statute books must be adhered to and enforced. They are wise and just, and cannot but conduce to the welfare, the happiness and prosperity of the people. Moreover, speaking for myself, I pledge my best efforts, if elected, towards the maintenance of the home for maimed and indigent ex-confederates. These defenders of the South, in heroic struggle for what we believed to be right, must be provided for, not grudgingly, but generously, as becomes a noble and grateful people. Let this sacred debt be paid by an imperial State, with a hand so lavish and a magnanimity so royal and true, that the benefaction shall carry no blush to the warrior's face nor humble his martial pride with the suggestion of odious charity.

Finally, fellow citizens, let me say that the great, vital, con-

trolling question of the times is the "labor question." A thorough analysis of the situation discloses this "question of questions" lying at the center of the social difficulties into which our country has been led. Solve this question, so that the man who produces wealth shall own a just proportion of it, and those difficulties will vanish as mists before the rising sun. Labor, slowly rising from the dust of ages, stands at last erect upon its feet. Already it confronts capital, not to provoke strife, but for reconciliation and peace. It does not ask charity, it demands justice. It does not ask that capital be enslaved, but that it, the age-old burden-bearer be made free. It demands for itself, not superiority, but equality; and it knows by a wise instinct that, in the opening epoch now dawning upon the world, equality is coming to it in the sure unfoldings of God's providence. This it knows; and it rejoices that in that day of deliverance the doom of "special privileges" shall be pronounced, and "equal rights" shall come to all alike.



## JUDGE NUGENT ON FINANCE.

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### HIS GREAT SPEECH BEFORE THE FARMERS' STATE ALLIANCE AT LAMPASAS.

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An Able Presentation of the Money Question, Showing the Position of the Different Parties on that Issue,

[The Southern Mercury, Dallas Texas, Aug. 29, 1895.]

Prior to the civil war there was no silver question in this country—that is, no question involving the proposition to permanently demonetize silver, or limit its coinage. If it existed in the mind of any public man of prominence, whose views could have had any serious effect on the public policies of the times, it was prudently kept from the masses. It is true, that to meet a contingency, Mr. Jefferson directed the mints to cease coining silver dollars; that to meet another contingency the ratio was changed in 1834, and that to meet still another supposed contingency, the act of 1853 reduced the weight of the minor coins and limited their legal tender qualities to payments not exceeding five dollars. Yet, during all these years, no leading public man ever suggested that the mints should be closed to either metal, or that either should have less of debt-paying capacity than the other. There must have been cogent reasons for this eighty years of failure to raise a question which is now agitating the popular mind throughout the length and breadth of the country. The period embraced between 1792 and 1860 was largely devoted to the study and discussion of the federal constitution. Almost every important question of public policy, which gave rise to political differences, and

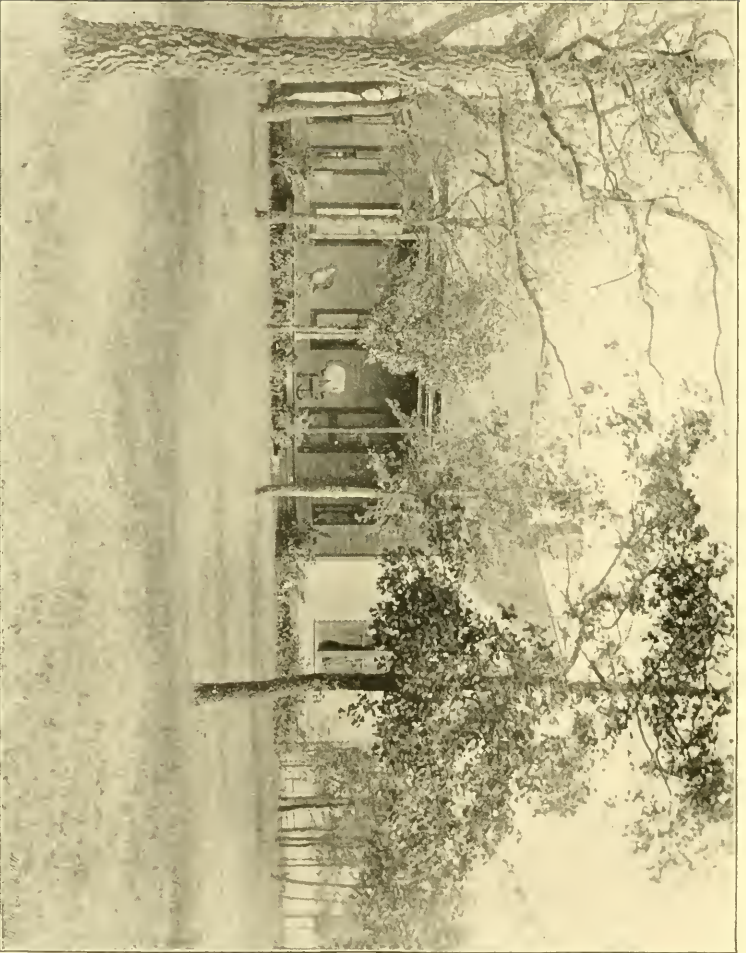
determined party alignments, was either settled upon constitutional grounds, or involved one or more questions of constitutional construction.

The alien and sedition laws, the national bank act, the acquisition of new territory, the war of 1812, the formation and admission of new states, the slavery question in all of its varying phases, internal improvements, coinage and banking, all gave rise to widespread discussions of constitutional limitations, which extended over many years. Great men, and the lesser luminaries who circled around them, constantly made their appeals to the organic law and taught the extreme necessity of observing its just limitations, and the danger of infracting its provisions. It was, they urged, the charter of our liberties, and to maintain the boundaries which it set around the exercise of power, and to keep alive in the breasts of the people the jealous suspicion with which they were taught to regard encroachments of government upon the domain of natural rights, seemed to them conditions essential to the successful working out of the problem of self-government. In public estimation, the organic law, which bound the states together in one federated whole, became invested with peculiar sanctity, and the rudest constituencies, taught to value individual liberty, were wont to insist upon a strict observance of its provisions. "Is it constitutional?" asked the statesmen of that time, respecting any great measure affecting the public administration. "Is it constitutional?" repeated the citizen, from the cultured centers of population to the rude dwellers on the frontiers. The very spirit of the constitution pervaded the political literature of the times. Newspapers, public addresses, political discussions, forensic arguments, teemed with it—diffused it as a quickening, vitalizing, uplifting power, through all the ranks of society. It unified, glorified the great American people, determined their character and fixed the order of their civilization—marked out in fact for them the lines of social evolution.

And in spite of differences in local interest and prejudice, it can truthfully be said that no people were ever more deeply affected by the fundamental law in which their civil institutions were laid and the social conditions out of which they grew.







JUDGE NUGENT'S HOME

The student of American history cannot but note how often and how thoroughly, during the period antedating our civil war, the national constitution was studied, analyzed and discussed, how patiently and exhaustively the sources of information bearing upon its construction were explored, and with what depth of thought, eloquence and power its claims were vindicated and enforced. The genius of the era was busy moulding and shaping our national characteristics out of the traditions and experiences of American political and social life, and as the distinctive American type of character emerged out of the perturbations of the times it was easily seen to be the robust and vigorous embodiment of the free spirit of the constitution. During this illustrious period it was always the people's constitution that was interpreted in terms addressed to the popular intelligence.

It was the people's constitution thus expounded that wrought such wondrous effect upon the nation's heart and brain ; it was the people's constitution whose free spirit gave courage and hope to the masses, and found voice and expression for their patriotic aspirations in the political conflicts and social movements of the times.

Yet this was a period of expansion and growth, of war and peace, of industrial depression and prosperity, of high prices and low prices, of wide fluctuations in values, of monetary stringencies and panics, of inflation and contractions, of booms and stagnations. How is the fact to be accounted for that throughout this period, so fruitful of issues, demanding repeated discussions of banks and banking, of financial and monetary questions, no serious effort was ever made to strike down any part of the constitutional coinage? Silver ruled supreme from 1803 to 1834, while gold fled to foreign quarters. No one proposed to cease coining gold. In 1834 the ratio was changed. Now silver went abroad and gold staid at home. It was not thought necessary to taboo silver. There was, indeed, a question of ratios, which occasionally commanded attention, but amid all the discussions to which it led, no act of absolute demonetization was ever seriously suggested, save the act of

1857, which merely repealed all former laws making foreign coins legal tender.

It is a significant fact, that at this time the commercial ratio of silver to gold was a little more than fifteen and a quarter—or to be exact, 15.27 to one—that is, the bullion value of the silver exceeded its coinage value. In the same year the coining value of gold produced in the United States amounted to \$55,000,000 while that of silver amounted to \$50,000 only. Thus at a time when gold production as estimated in its coining value was a hundred-fold greater than silver, and the white metal was scarce and high, we find congress demonetizing all foreign coins by an act passed shortly before the great panic of 1857. The money power was getting in its work, but dared not make a direct attack upon our own silver coinage; it dared not bring forward any scheme to force gold monometalism upon the country. It was too wise to make a direct assault upon the constitutional bulwark, which more than half a century of thought and experience had erected in the popular intelligence in defense of the white metal. It knew that the people had used the Spanish milled dollar, as the monetary unit before the constitution itself was framed, and it further knew that Hamilton, Jefferson and Washington had concurred in the establishment of another unit of value, in all respects identical, except in name, with the old Spanish dollar thus, as it were, embodying in the positive act of the government the popular will and experience; and that throughout that long period the American nation, while using this silver unit had grown rich and great and powerful. Indeed, it knew that the old articles of confederation which, defective as they were, had carried the country through the struggle for independence, made the Spanish milled dollar the monetary unit, and that this time-honored coin had been doing money duty since 1792, concurrently with the dollar of our own mints. To give pre-eminence to our own coinage, however, seemed natural, and the manipulators understood that our people did not object to any policy designed apparently to effect that object. They understood well, however, that the act of 1792, made the silver dollar the base of the monetary system—that it was made the

unit for calculating or estimating value. "Dollars or units," said this old law, "each to be of the value of a Spanish milled dollar," gold eagles "each to be of the value of ten dollars or units." Indeed, they read printed on the silver dollar coined under this law the words, "Dollar or unit." Eliminate silver! That were to subvert the base of the whole system—like striking the unit one from mathematical science. To say that there should no longer be a silver unit or a silver symbol of unity in our monetary system would at once have directly opposed the popular conception of the constitutional coinage, and would, therefore, have outraged public sentiment and aroused a political storm. Hence the assault first upon foreign coins, and the limitation of the silver coinage by a covert manipulation of the treasury department under the act of 1853.

Daniel Webster had said, "I am clearly of the opinion that gold and silver, at rates fixed by congress, constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither congress or any state has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard."

This was at the time the accepted doctrine, and it had worked its way into the popular apprehension, and had stood without question since the organization of our government. "The congress shall have the power to coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures." The constitutional duty of congress was fully discharged only when it provided for the coinage of silver and gold, the great money metals in use at the adoption of the constitution, at a ratio decreed by law.

This view prevailed among all classes of our people during the whole period antedating the civil war. The money power in view of this invincible public sentiment was discreet enough not to raise the question of demonetization with respect to the coinage of our own mints. It waited until the war had left its demoralizing effects upon public thought and morals, and the people were divided over sectional issues, and then proceeded to accomplish the work it feared to undertake in the fifties. It has succeeded in practically demonetizing silver, but its great undertaking is not yet achieved. The question now before the country is not whether gold shall constitute the

actual circulating medium. The people who are now clamoring for the gold standard do not pretend, if they succeed, that the yellow metal will go into actual, bodily circulation, and do money duty in the channels of trade. They are wise enough to know that, if the world were forced to depend upon gold for its actual circulating money, it would be impossible to hold the masses down. For the overthrow of such a system, the world of despairing and suffering men would rise up in open revolt—with arms in their hands if need be. The question at the bottom of this great agitation is larger and more far reaching even than the question of what the redemption money of the country shall be. The real, vital and comprehensive question is what shall be the permanent financial system of the United States. Mr. Cleveland, and those who accept his views, in response to this question, are now proposing to establish a monetary system involving: 1st, the elimination of all forms of paper currency issued by the government; 2d, the use of bank paper as a circulating medium for the country; 3d, the use of gold only as a redemption fund or base for bank paper.

It will be seen at a glance that this system will virtually delegate to the banks the money issuing power of the government, and compel the people to look to private corporations for their money supply. Now under such a system the gold coinage will do duty simply as reserves in the vaults of the banks as a fund kept hoarded and out of circulation, to serve as a basis to hold up bank credits. It will be remembered, that Mr. Cleveland's policy, during his two administrations, has been to discontinue silver coinage, and withdraw the greenbacks, funding them in interest bearing bonds, to be used by the banks in floating their notes. Indeed, the policy, which he has with great consistency and courage persisted in since his first election, found appropriate expression in the plan submitted by Mr. Carlisle to the last session of Congress. This plan was simply that of the bankers, formulated at Baltimore, with a few modifications, and involved the elimination of the various forms of government paper from the circulation, and the issue of bank notes as the sole paper currency of the country. Let us submit this proposed system to the test of reason. Prof. Taussig, of

Harvard University, a distinguished advocate of the gold standard, in an article in the *Popular Science Monthly*, after commenting on the extent to which paper substitutes for money are used, says: "It has been attempted to obviate the dangers arising from the use of paper substitutes by enlarging the basis of specie; and the wider use of silver is advocated as one method of broadening the base of the superstructure. But efforts in this direction are likely to have but temporary results. A broader basis of specie is likely, under the same forces which now lead to an extended use of credits, to bring about in due time an expansion of credit machinery in some way proportionate to the enlarged foundation on which it rests. The surer method, and that which is developing under the stress of need and the growth of experience, is to strengthen the foundation rather than to enlarge it. The specie which serves as the basis of the swelling volume of credit transactions is massed in fewer hands, and so is made more effective in sustaining the superstructure. The great public banks of European countries are guardians of the treasure which gives tone to their currency and serves as the standard for transactions in which it is used to less and less extent in bodily shape." The professor, in alluding to the possible increase or diminution of silver production concludes his article as follows: "In either case silver ceases to be the basis on which countries of advanced civilization rest their monetary system, not so much for physical unfitness, as from the increasing use of a more refined and highly developed medium of exchange, needing for its foundation a moderate supply of specie, having a stable and uniform value." I have quoted from the writings of this accomplished man, for the purpose of disclosing more fully than can be gathered from our current political discussions, the plan or scheme of finance, which the administration is so actively promoting. There is consistency at least in this plan, and it can easily be comprehended. It recognizes the indisputable fact that civilization demands a more refined circulation than the coins, and virtually concedes, as Mr. Sherman some time ago declared, that paper is destined to be that circulation. Now, so far, populists can have no serious quarrel with the system. They have been for

years saying what these gold advocates now admit, viz: that the world's business cannot be done with gold and silver alone, and that resort must be had to paper currency to supplement these metals. Indeed, populists recognize the utility of banks as business agencies. They know that they do an important and useful work in affording the trading world the means of rapid and effective exchange, and in keeping its financial books. They are willing that banks of discount and exchange shall, with proper safe-guards, remain until the advance in social thought shall enable the government to take charge very largely of the country's banking.

But they will not consent that the purely public and social function of dispensing money to the people shall be turned over to private banking corporations, whose sole motive in discharging such a function can only be the ordinary human desire for gain. Here, therefore, they part company with the gold men. Narrow the base of circulation by limiting it to gold—strengthen the base by massing the gold in the vaults of the banks; then give to the bankers the monopoly of the business of supplying the country with paper money thus based! The policy implied in this scheme is to limit rather than inflate the currency; in fact, it proposes to provide against inflation except in so far as the bankers themselves may come to see the necessity of increasing the money supply. Note the language of Mr. Taussig, in stating his objection to the broadening of the base of circulation by adding silver: "A broader basis of specie is likely . . . to bring about an expansion of credit machinery in some way proportioned to the enlarged foundation." Of course the "surer method" proposed by him inevitably narrows the base and reduces the volume of credit money so that it shall not be out of proportion to the diminished foundation. The "massing" of gold in the hands of the bankers will give "tone" to the credit circulation, and prevent the inflation that might result from the enlargement of the "foundation" by the addition of silver! This is the monetary system which we are promised by the gold people, at a time when the productive capacity of our population is growing as never before. Consider the fact that, by the invention



and application of labor-saving machinery, the capacity of our seventy millions of people to produce wealth has been augmented tenfold over that of the same number of people a hundred years ago—that, to express it more plainly, these seventy millions of progressive, energetic and speculative people can, by means of their mastery of natural and mechanical forces, which the inventive genius of the age has given them, produce more wealth within a given time than could have been produced a hundred years ago by 700 millions of people similarly endowed with mental and physical capacity; consider that this immense productive capacity, under the spur of constantly improving facilities for intercommunication, and the exchange of wealth has developed a commensurate volume of trade, so that the annual commercial transactions of this country, in the judgment of competent men, now closely approximate, if they do not amount to, the inconceivable sum of \$100,000,000,000; consider also, that we are adding to our population at the rate of more than a million souls per annum, many of whom are wealth producers from abroad, and that the volume of transactions is thereby greatly augmented year by year; consider also, that improvements in the means of transportation and the transmission of intelligence have practically brought widely separated communities and nations close together, thus enabling them to trade more easily and rapidly, and thus giving additional impulse to the constantly swelling volume of business; consider that the protection afforded by quarantine and improved scientific sanitation against the spread of infectious or contagious diseases, and the longer intervals between great wars resulting from the spread of humane, Christian thought, have practically fixed the enormous annual increase of population in this and other countries as permanent wealth producers in the world's industrial system, thus guaranteeing a steady, rapid and unbroken growth in production and trade; consider that by almost universal consent the supply of gold for monetary use is not likely (to use Prof. Taussig's language) to increase rapidly in the future; that the "use of gold in the arts is apparently increasing and is likely to continue to increase and that it absorbs a growing part of

the annual supply," and consider finally that the highest authority concedes the necessity of a steady increase in the circulating medium to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing wealth and population and the constantly enlarging volume of trade.

Consider all this, and then endeavor to compass the awful significance and the possible effects of this world-wide movement to limit the world's primary money to gold alone, to turn over all this gold to a few people inspired and actuated only by the desire of gain, and give them in perpetuity a monopoly of the business of furnishing money to the balance of the population of the globe! The absolute atrocity of such a scheme, the depth of poverty and distress and the utter enslavement which it promises to millions, even hundreds of millions of human creatures, can scarcely be conceived by the average mind!

I have shown that the scheme of the gold men does not contemplate that gold shall ever be circulated; that it in fact proposes to drive gold out of circulation. In this the system cannot be an improvement upon the proposal of silver men to open the mints to the free coinage of silver. For if free silver will drive gold out of circulation (assuming it to be in fact in circulation) the country will no more have the benefit of gold circulation, if by Mr. Carlisle's system the gold is locked up in the vaults of the banks. In fact, however, gold is not in circulation at this time, the Treasury reports to the contrary notwithstanding. The *Dallas News* a few days ago published a statement of Mr. Kilpatrick, sub-treasurer of the United States at New Orleans, which purported, among other things, to give the "gold and silver coins" in circulation on August 1 of the present year. The gold circulation is put by this statement at \$485,778,610, and the silver circulation at \$51,746,706. One might well ask where all of this gold is circulating. I shall not risk anything if I say that it is not doing money duty among the masses. In Texas, at least, it rarely shows itself in actual transactions, while silver is apparently doing full duty, entering into almost every business transaction where money is used at all. If, therefore, silver is in such common use, and gold so rarely employed in actual transactions, seemingly a

little less than \$52,000,000 of silver is doing more effective work as a circulating medium than \$485,000,000 of gold. The truth is, gold is now hoarded—piled up largely in the vaults of the banks—in anticipation of the success of the present gold propaganda. He who has gold in his clutches, when the Cleveland-Carlisle financial policy is enacted into law, will find himself equipped with power to gather spoils from labor, and put the burdens of slavery on the backs of toiling men. Bear this in mind; gold has practically already disappeared from the channels of trade; it cannot, therefore, be driven out by silver; but silver and other forms of currency are needed to take its place, and ultimately force it back into circulation, or drive it out permanently to the peace, prosperity and happiness of all honest, patriotic citizens.

But the scheme under discussion involves the continuance of the national banking system, with all the perils to the country which arise out of it. The experience of recent years has shown quite plainly that the bank classes are solidly welded together in the fixed determination to control the financial and currency legislation of the country. To do this they must necessarily act in unity, and this is effected by means of their national and state associations. It is folly to deny this. There are, indeed, individual bankers who dissent from the views of the majority of this class of citizens, but they exercise no influence whatever. Even the great banker St. John, who stands for popular rights on the great question of the coinage, and whose views are the result of years of philosophical and scientific study, is powerless to check, in the faintest degree, the movement, which the combined and organized plutocracy has set on foot in this country to force upon the government this stupendous scheme of spoliation and wrong. Backed as these people are by any amount of money, by the metropolitan press, by the shrewdest politicians and the ablest lawyers in the country, the amount of political influence they can bring to bear in effectuating their purpose must be seen to be perilous in the extreme to our free institutions. The fact that individual bankers are honest, upright gentlemen, is of small account. As a class they are inspired by the

single selfish purpose of gain. Put them in control of the government and no man can measure the unhappy effects upon the masses of the people, which the policy they boldly advocate must inevitable bring about.

There is but one remedy. As Mr. Jefferson said with reference to banks of issue, "Carthago delenda est." The national banking system, like Carthage of old, must be destroyed, and the national government must no longer be permitted to farm out its credit to corporations to be used for private gain. In the monetary policy of the government we must demand equal rights for all, special privileges for none—a principle wholly ignored by the scheme of the gold man.

Mr. Carlisle and those who echo his views, are fond of pointing out the fact that in all silver standard countries wages are lower than those which prevail in gold standard countries. And yet they cite the fact that with the former the per capita circulation is small, and insignificant in comparison with that of gold standard countries. Is it possible to believe, that the mere substance upon which the money function is impressed produces this difference in the wages of labor? Does not every sane man know that a scant circulation and low prices go hand in hand? This is the teaching of political economists without exception. Here let me call attention to the central truth in monetary science, as stated in the language of Senator John P. Jones, viz: "The value of the unit of money in any country is determined by the number of units in circulation. In other words the value of every dollar depends on the number of dollars out. The greater the number of dollars out, other things being equal, the less will be the value of each dollar; the fewer the number out, other things remaining the same, the greater the value of each; and, this without any regard whatever to the material of which the dollars are composed.

"It is from this evident principle that political economists deduce the universal rule, that the prices of property and commodities are determined in any country by the number of units constituting its monetary circulation—that is, by its volume of circulation."

There are local conditions, it is true, affecting the operation

of this universal law, which give it greater or less effect, but the truth is, nevertheless, universal and without exception. Ricardo, an accepted authority, says, "The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. That commodities would rise or fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money, I assume as a fact that is incontrovertible." The same doctrine is taught by John Stuart Mill, Locke, Hume, Prof. Jevons and others. Prof. Jevons says: "There is plenty of evidence to prove that an inconvertible paper money, if carefully limited in quantity, can retain its full value;" and Ricardo himself says: "A well regulated paper currency is so great an improvement in commerce that I would greatly regret if prejudice should induce us to return to a system of less utility," and again this great authority says "on these principles it will be seen that it is not necessary that paper money shall be payable in specie to secure its value; it is only necessary that its quantity should be regulated according to the value of the metal which is declared to be the standard." Prof. Perry, speaking of the irredeemable paper notes issued by the bank of England in 1797, says, "cautiously issued at first, bank paper continued at par for several years after its suspension, which proves that when the government possesses the monopoly of issuing paper money, and carefully limits its quantity, and both receives and pays it out at par, it may keep an inconvertible paper at par, or even by sufficiently limiting its quantity, carry it above par." Now, in view of the undoubted principle that the value of money is in proportion to the volume of it in circulation, does it not seem incontrovertible that the small per capita circulation, in silver countries largely accounts for the scant wages paid to labor?"

Does any one imagine that, if gold were substituted for silver in those countries, dollar for dollar, leaving the quantity of money the same, any better wages would be paid for labor? If so, the condition of the laboring man in Turkey ought to be a happy one as compared with that of the laborer in any silver country.

The truth is, the small per capita circulation and other bad economic conditions in those countries, conspire to reduce the

wages of labor to the level of a bare living. Mexico, in proportion to the products of labor to be exchanged, has probably as large a circulation as we have, but when measured by her population, the circulation is scant. There, however, the almost unprecedented monopoly of land has produced an enormous amount of enforced idleness. Single individuals own millions of acres of land, which are held together out of use; and while, therefore, Mexico's abundant silver circulation—abundant as compared with the products of labor to be exchanged—has enabled actual producers of wealth there to prosper in a very marked degree, while the labor market, in consequence of the execrable land system prevailing there, is overstocked, and, as a consequence, labor is cheap. If labor cannot have access to land, it has no alternative but to accept whatever dole employers may see fit to give.

There is not a single silver country where the same pernicious land system does not prevail to a greater or less extent, and where consequently, labor, barred off from the use of land, is not compelled to accept wages forced below the already low level to which a dwindled circulation has driven them. The gold countries themselves until comparatively recent date, with the exception of England, had the system of free coinage of both metals. At times some of them had the single silver standard, and yet the history of the years ante-dating the adoption by them of the gold standard, gives us no reason to believe that their progress was retarded by the kind of metallic money in use among them. There may have been fluctuations in production, stringencies, etc., but the production of wealth has steadily proceeded, as it has with us since the organization of our government, though not in the same degree, whether gold and silver, or one of these metals constituted the base of circulation. But in all of the gold countries, including ours, progress has been at the expense of the toiling millions, the fruits of whose labors have for all the years been falling into the laps of the favored few. False systems of government, local exactions of various kinds, excessive taxation levies on the products of labor, land monopoly, rendering the soil inaccessible to labor, depletion of the ranks of producers by mili-

tary service, scant money supplies; all of these have conspired to depress the laboring classes, to produce enforced idleness and low wages. There are other factors, also, which I have not space to mention. Still in all of these gold countries, with all of their bad conditions, the facts are significant, that the money supply per capita, though too small, is much greater than in silver countries, and the wages of labor proportionately higher. Thus we see, that wherever we find the per capita circulation low, wages are low, and that in countries where the per capita circulation is larger, wages are relatively higher. Coming to this country, the conditions are not so bad as elsewhere, though they are bad enough. Until recent years, our cheap lands afforded an outlet for our surplus population, and comparative contentment and a fair degree of prosperity prevailed among our laboring people. But both land monopoly and a dwindling circulation—dwindling both absolutely and relatively as compared with the increasing population and business of the country, have, together with other evil factors, reduced prices and wages, and brought about general depression and stagnation. Yet, here we may note the fact, that just as our per capita circulation (though greatly insufficient) exceeds that of all other gold countries, except France, so do the wages here exceed those paid to labor in those countries. So wherever we go, the wages of labor seem to run parallel in a considerable measure with the quantity of money in circulation, both rising and falling together.

Our population is spread over an immense, fertile territory, and notwithstanding the artificial scarcity of land produced by excessive holdings for speculative purposes,—they find access to it in some form, though to a constantly diminishing extent, as proprietors. So that, although distress and poverty exist in the dense centers of population in most aggravated and alarming forms, and in somewhat milder forms elsewhere, we present to people of other countries a seeming of general prosperity. Yet even here, as the general aggregate wealth of the nation increases, so the hungry mouths and ill clad bodies increase, so grow upon us poverty, insanity and crime. We are erecting, apparently, a splendid civilization, and yet its heart is being

caten out by the insatiate spirit of greed. The monster who stands over that civilization, ready in the very exhilaration of baleful success to suffocate and destroy it, is Shylock. Usury, land monopoly, these two stand before the growing public intelligence as the twin criminals of all the ages. They are responsible for all the want and misery, that mortal man or woman or child has suffered; their buried victims of bygone centuries in ghastly throngs rise up to condemn them, and as the sun of truth mounts to heaven, they must get themselves in readiness for the sure destruction which awaits them.

But, it is said that the laboring man's dollar will buy more than at any time in our history, and that this is due to the policy which has put us upon the gold standard. Why, then, are so many men struggling for the same dollar? Why the Pullman strike of last year, the outpourings of thousands of penniless working men, the marshaling of military forces, the declaration of martial law, the unseemly haste in resorting to courts for injunctions against the striking laborers, the quick condemnation and imprisonment of Debs, the labor leader? Why all these labor organizations—these combinations formed to keep up wages? Why does discontent pervade the ranks of laboring men throughout the whole country? If wages are high, if a dollar will buy more of the products of labor than ever before, and if this increased purchasing power of the dollar is such an inestimable boon to the laboring man, then surely men who work for wages ought to be contented and happy and prosperous. But on the contrary, the laboring classes live constantly under the apprehension both of wage reduction and the loss of jobs. The high wages paid skilled workmen in certain lines of production afford no test of the situation.

It is the fact, rather, that there are millions of laborers skilled and unskilled, who get no jobs and hence no wages at all. No financial or economic system can be good which tolerates such conditions of idleness and poverty as prevail in this country. The demand which labor makes is, not that it be fed by the charity of government or individuals, but that it be given fair opportunities to exert itself; that social and economic



conditions be so adjusted that every laboring man will find, not a job artificially created for him by a makeshift of legislation, but employment freely coming to him from the liberated, enlarged and rivivified productive forces—coming to him in fact under such beneficent changes in our laws and public policies that he can hold in his firm and honest grasp all of the fruits of his labor. But again, an honest dollar that would bring benefits and blessings to the laboring man ought equally to benefit all other classes. Labor in its various forms produces the nation's wealth. This is the ultimate truth. The exchange of this wealth constitutes all of the diversified business of the country. The vast throng of busy thousands who produce this wealth also in large measure consume it. If they are now in possession of an ample supply of sound money, they must exchange it for this wealth.

How is it, then, that all men of all classes complain of hard times, and chiefly of the difficulty of obtaining money with which to gratify their wants or carry on business? Why is it that so much of this wealth cannot be exchanged at all? Why, to specialize a little, does the farmer find it so difficult to sell his horse, his corn, his hogs, his crops, in fact, any part of his personal property except at ruinously low prices? Why is it, when property enters into competition with money, it inevitably goes to the wall? Why is it that the money owner does not care to buy property and cannot be induced to invest his money in productive enterprises? Is it not that money is enormously valuable as compared with property and commodities? And, as money has value in proportion to the quantity of it out, do not such conditions show beyond question that the monetary circulation is insufficient, and that the dollar which buys so much of the products of labor, is dwarfing and stinting trade and preventing the free and rapid exchange of commodities? To my mind every day's observation makes this clear. The country is suffering very largely from a money famine; and to restrict the actual circulation to an amount which can be safely floated on a gold basis will bring no relief whatever, except to the bankers. Meanwhile gold is going up in value constantly, and the great trading nations of the earth are ever in a mad

struggle to get or retain it. I know it is said in some quarters that gold has not appreciated, and that the decline in prices has not been due to the discontinuance of silver coinage, but a little reflection will show that this contention cannot stand the test of reason. The value of gold must depend upon the same law of supply and demand which regulates that of every other commodity. Prior to 1871 the world, with the exception of England, was coining and using silver without limit as one of its co-equal money metals. Thus silver and gold were, without restriction, in active and almost universal use as money—silver more widely than gold. Germany demonetized silver in 1871; the United States followed her in 1873; and then the Latin Union in 1874 and 1876 closed their mints to silver, and about two years ago Austria-Hungary went upon the gold standard. Thus since 1871 all the great trading nations, including the United States, have, one after another, ceased coining silver, and are to-day practically on the gold standard. The demand for gold has therefore been enormously increased within the past quarter of a century, and logically the value of gold must have also proportionately increased. When we consider that the supply of gold is practically stationary, the correctness of this conclusion cannot admit of question.

Mr. Giffen, statistician to the London board of trade, said in 1879, in a paper read before the statistical society of London: "There is a general agreement that during the last few years there has been a heavy fall in prices. When we see so many failures as are now declared, we may be sure that they are preceded and accompanied by a heavy fall in prices." Again, in the same paper he said: "It is a moderate calculation that if only the countries which used gold in 1848, including their colonies, were now using it, the requirements (of gold he means) to correspond with the increased population and wealth, would be at least three times what they were, assuming prices to remain in equilibrium;" but he says, "while during the last thirty years the annual yield of gold has been falling off from its first superabundance, the current demands for the metal (gold) have certainly been growing with marvelous rapidity." Then speaking of the extraordinary demands made

by the addition of Germany and the United States to the list of gold standard countries, and the practical inclusion of France in the same list, he says of these new demands: "They have been supplied very largely by a continued pressure upon existing stocks till an adjustment has at length been made by a contraction of trade and fall in values." Again, speaking of the demands for gold caused by an increase of population and wealth, Mr. Giffen says in the same paper: "Not only must the requirements of gold using countries be increased by 50 per cent to allow for the natural increment of population, but another 50 per cent must be added for the greater wealth per head." And then discussing the effect of the two causes assigned for the general fall in prices since 1873, viz: The multiplication of commodities and the diminution of cost of production, and the relative scarcity of gold, the same high authority declared that he gave "greater weight" to the latter, that is, the relative scarcity of gold. In a paper of Mr. Giffen's read before the same society in 1888, the following language is used: "We can say positively that the recent change from a high to a low level of prices is due to a change in money, in the nature, or in the direction of absolute contraction." Again, speaking of the additions made to the stock of gold: "The stock with additions has to do more work, and it has only been able to do so because prices have fallen." Then, speaking of this insufficiency of gold, he says: The debtors pay more than they would otherwise pay, and the creditors receive more. Appreciation is a more serious matter for those who have debts to pay. It prevents them gaining by the development of industry as they otherwise would.

"Mr. Leonard Courtney was a member of the royal commission of twelve men appointed in 1886 by the British government to inquire into the recent changes in the relative values of the precious metals. He was one of the six members of the commission who maintained that the fall in prices was to be attributed to causes affecting commodities. In 1893, having changed his views, he declared that there had been a greater appreciation of gold, than he had suspected when he signed the report of the commission, and he further said: "It is a dream

to suppose that gold is stable in value. . . . It has undergone considerable appreciation in recent years, and industry and commerce have been more hampered by its movement than they would have been had silver been our standard. Whether the appreciation will be maintained undiminished is uncertain; every step taken toward the further demonetization of silver must tend to the enhancement of the value of gold." I am indebted to the great speech of Senator John P. Jones, delivered in the United States Senate at the special session of 1893, for what I have said with reference to the views of Mr. Giffen and Mr. Courtney.

He who desires other evidence on the subject under discussion will do well to consult that speech. He will find the subject made clear to the exclusion of a rational doubt. The decline in prices spoken of by these and other experts is that general decline which has been perceived throughout the world since the demonetization of silver, or since the passage of the act of 1873 closing the mints of this country to silver. At that time there was no metallic circulation in the United States, or practically none. We were on a paper basis, and the policy of contraction inaugurated by the act of 1866 had started the downward movement of prices in this country long before silver was demonetized. This downward tendency was doubtless accelerated by the denial of free mintage to silver, but its terrible effects had been felt before that event, and may be read in the history of mercantile failures in this country, which in 1866 amounted in number to 622, involving liabilities aggregating \$47,333,000, but which, under the disastrous influence of contraction, increased in 1867 to 2,780 in number, involving liabilities aggregating \$96,666,000, and thereafter annually grew, until in 1873 they reached the enormous number of 5,183, and involved liabilities aggregating the sum of \$228,499,000. As to the more widespread decline of prices resulting from the anti-silver movement, the most learned experts practically agree. There is no dissent, whatever the cause assigned may be.

Mr. Morton Frewen, in a speech delivered before the American Bimetallic League, in Washington city in 1892, after stating that he had, when in India, given close study "to the

effect of the price of silver upon the price of wheat, cotton and other produce," declared that he was "justified in stating that the price of a bushel of wheat, whether American or Indian, in the London market, has been in the past and will be in the future, neither more nor less than one ounce of silver." He further said in the same speech: "Admitting, then what all students of prices do admit, namely that the purchase power of the rupee in India is well maintained, the fact that the price of wheat and cotton falls with every fall of silver exchanges between Europe and Asia is not for a moment open to doubt." All the talk of an honest dollar in the face of the accumulated testimony bearing upon this question, is seen to be either the idle vapping of superficial politicians or the delusive sophistry with which plutocracy seeks to mislead the popular mind. From every point of view, this system, to which the national administration is so wedded, can only be regarded as one in the interest of the people who aspire to control the world's money supply. To the millions it means slavery. But the silver democrats, seemingly more liberal in their financial views, propose to adhere to the use of paper money, but they want this to be issued by the government without the intervention of banks, and they want to broaden the base of this circulation by adding silver to it. In other words they want free coinage of gold and silver at the present ratio, and government treasury notes, or promises to pay, convertible into coin (gold and silver). Here is a recognition of the necessity of paper money. So far we have no quarrel with the silver democrats. But their kind of paper money does not suit populists. It creates a public debt to be paid off in some way and at some time. So long as it exists it will constantly invite attacks from the people who now so clamorously assert that the greenbacks constitute the weak element in our financial system. The money power of this country will not let go its hold upon the government so long as the financial legislation of this country affords it the opportunity to make gain by the manipulation of the public funds or money. So long as government notes redeemable in coin are in circulation, they will always find it practicable to deplete the national treasury of its coin reserve.

The fact that they have done so in recent years makes it altogether certain that they will continue to do so in the future. The United States treasury is today dependent upon the Rothschild-Morgan syndicate for the preservation of the gold reserve against the attacks of combinations formed to deplete it.

When this protection is withdrawn the reserve will go, unless, to perpetuate the reign of honest money, Cleveland should again purchase a similar immunity by subsidizing the Rothschild-Morgan combine. If this is the condition now, what will it be if the silver democrats triumph? The banks and syndicates will not stand by them—on the contrary, will hold themselves aloof, watching for the opportunity to go in and gather the spoils. It is useless to say they cannot do this. Experience, if not common sense, warns us that they can. They will not let go so long as convertible paper exists to induce speculative raids on the metallic reserves, or invite efforts in favor of some funding schemes from which they may gain profit. But if this menace to the public funds should not exist, where will the government get its supply of gold and silver to serve as the base for its own credit money? It can only get it from its own revenues or by issuing coin bonds. Our silver democratic friends, equally with populists, scout the idea of selling bonds in time of peace. They must, therefore, depend upon such coin as may be derived from the current revenues. This, as may be easily seen, will afford but a meager sum—an insufficient “base” upon which to supply 70,000,000 of people with a circulating medium. Confessedly, this scheme must be kept within the limits of safe banking, and, therefore, the supply of treasury notes must be limited to a sum greatly below the wants of the country. If, however, it be supposed that the government can with impunity extend its credit beyond the limits of safe banking and therefore issue its notes to any amount, the answer is, money-getters care as little for the government as for individuals; they understand that as the volume of credit paper expands, the facilities for making raids upon the coin base will proportionately increase, and they will not be slow to avail themselves of such favorable opportunities for gain at the expense of the public funds. This will become clear when we

reflect, that it is not proposed to put us on a paper basis, but to maintain specie payments. During the greenback period just after the war, specie payments were suspended, and there was no coin in circulation. As long as this condition continued, greenbacks circulated freely, and there was no fear of a corner on a redemption fund. Only since the resumption of specie payment, under the act of 1875, have withdrawals of gold from the treasury been possible by means of the control of government paper. This paper being payable on demand, how will the silver democrats be able to hold their silver and gold reserves intact, if they attempt to float an enormously disproportionate quantity of convertible notes? With a volume of credit money out of all just proportion to the metallic base, withdrawals of coin will become all the more easy, and the difficulty of maintaining the volume of paper circulation must be greatly enhanced. The fact is, that the small reserve of coin must either restrict the paper issues below the wants of trade, or imperil those issues if enlarged sufficiently to afford a just supply of circulation to the country. There is in fact no compromise between the paper system of the gold men and that of the populists. Populists favor the free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the present ratio, and the emission of inconvertible paper to supply any lack of circulation, thus to make the entire volume of money sufficient to supply the demands of trade. We cannot compromise on the perilous plan proposed by silver democrats.

What is money? Certainly not gold, not silver, not paper, not any mere material substance.

The act of 1892 declares, "The money of account shall be expressed in dollars or units, dimes or tenths, cents or hundredths, and mills or thousandths; a dime being a tenth part of a dollar, a cent the hundredth part of a dollar, a mill the thousandth part of a dollar; and that all accounts in the public offices and all proceedings in the courts of the United States shall be kept and had in conformity with this regulation." "The money of account," is it substance—commodity? No, assuredly not, but, as the act declared, it is "expressed" in multiples and subdivisions of the coinage unit—thus in different

forms, of metallic substances selected and approved by the government as those best suited to certify the law's decree. Money is therefore law, function, thus a conception of the mind, possessing neither physical form nor material properties. The forms of substance by which it is expressed are mere symbols or representatives by which the law authenticates it to the popular apprehension—physical counters by which it is made, so to speak, tangible to the senses. If substance is money, and not law, why is it that money substances vary so greatly among different nations? There is no natural law that determines what substance shall be used to express the money function. It is only when the law speaks, that substance is enabled to do duty in representing the scientific conception of money, and in making that conception serviceable among the people in affecting the exchanges of practical life. A sells his horse to B for fifty gold dollars. We call this an exchange of money for property, not barter or direct swapping of property for property. Now, has A in this transaction sought to obtain gold? No, he has no use for gold. If he sought to obtain gold because of some use he desired to put the metal to, he would have gone into the market and purchased gold bullion. Or, if in the transaction stated he had sought to obtain gold metal and not dollars—in other words, if he had swapped his horse for the bullion in the dollars—then the transaction would have been barter pure and simple. And if all transactions involving the use of gold money were put upon the same footing—that is, if they all involved the mere bartering of property for gold bullion—then the alloy in gold coin would soon prove a serious hindrance to trade, and the coins would soon disappear to give place to pure bullion. But, fortunately the idea of bartering is excluded. What the man wants who sells his horse is dollars, not gold. Thus, whether people realize it not, money substances merely enable the trading world to make practically available the scientific conception of money, notwithstanding the disturbances which the commercial values of those substances may from time to time occasion.

Now, populists believe that paper notes, in proper quantities, will give just as full authentication and power to the money



function as any other physical substance; and believing, with all other parties, that paper money is demanded by our high order of civilization, and, believing further, with Mr. Calhoun, that promises to pay are not appropriate forms of currency for the use of the government in affording to the people a medium of exchange, they demand that silver and gold should be admitted to free and unlimited mintage at the existing ratio, and that irredeemable, inconvertible notes should be issued by the government in quantities sufficient to supply the demands of trade. Thus, they propose to put it out of the power of money combinations to make corners on the public funds, and to absolutely divorce the government from the banks by repealing the national bank act. Thus it appears, therefore, that there are three financial schemes competing for public favor, and we confidently submit our plan as the only one of the three involving the application of the real scientific theory of money. But the silver democrats claim, most vociferously, that the democratic party is entitled to the honor of originating the question of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1. Now, although the democratic party before the war constantly declared against a national bank, none of its platforms ever made any declaration whatever on the question of free coinage for the sufficient reason, that no such issue ever arose until the passage of the act of 1873. In 1868 no coinage question appeared in its national platform, although the party declared for "one currency for the government and the people, the laborer and the office-holder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder." In 1872 its platform declared in favor of a "speedy return to specie payments;" in 1876, the platform upon which Tilden was nominated denounced the republicans for not having paid off the greenbacks, which it declared to be a "changing standard of values," and the non-payment of which it denounced as a "disregard of the plighted faith of the nation;" the platform of 1880 declared for "honest money, consisting of gold and silver and paper, convertible into coin on demand," but contained not a single reference of any kind to the question of free coinage, although in the interval between 1876 and 1880 the silver agitation, con-

fined to no party, had led to the enactment of the very bad Bland-Allison act; in 1884, the platform upon which Mr. Cleveland was first elected, contained only this declaration on the money question: "We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss"—a declaration which, as it accords with the sound money notions of Mr. Cleveland and his secretary of the treasury, must be altogether satisfactory to my friend, Judge Clark. In 1888 Mr. Cleveland ran again, and was defeated on a platform which contained no reference to the money question, the free silver question, which had vexed the country for so many years, being entirely ignored; in 1892, again nominating Mr. Cleveland, the well known, pronounced enemy of free silver, the party formulated its views on the money question in the following language: "We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage, but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, or be adjusted through international agreement, or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts; and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with and redeemable in such coin." This declaration may not be written in the choicest of English, but only the man, from whose mind partisan zeal has driven all fairness, can fail to see that it imposes conditions on the equal coinage of silver which could not be realized.

These conditions were, first, that the "dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic or exchangeable value." With the world wide discrimination against silver, how could its "intrinsic and exchangeable value" ever be expected to overtake that of gold? Second, the dollar unit of coinage of both metals "must be adjusted through international agreement," or third, "by safeguards of legislation." Our silver friends concede the utter folly of international agree-

ment, but they have not pointed out the safeguards of legislation. Let it be noted that the declaration did not provide for unqualified free coinage, but for free coinage whenever the silver dollar should overtake the gold dollar in the commercial value of its silver metal, or whenever international agreement could be effected, or whenever safeguards could be devised by which to maintain the parity of the two metals. It is too plain for controversy that the convention did not contemplate that a free coinage law would itself provide these conditions, but that equal mintage might be given to both metals whenever one or more of these conditions could be otherwise brought about. It is a singular fact that while some of our free silver leaders affect to believe that the democratic party has always been for free silver, the republicans in their platform of 1888 denounced the administration of Mr. Cleveland for its "effort to demonetize silver." Yet, in that year the democrats remominated Cleveland in spite of his hostility to silver, and again in 1892 nominated and elected him. The plain truth is the democratic party, by every rule which can be applied to party action is responsible for Mr. Cleveland. He is, in fact, the consummate product of democratic policies—policies maintained with persistency by organized party action since the war. Mr. Cleveland's administration has given to the country the fullest possible construction of the platform of 1892, by forcing the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, thus furnishing safeguards of legislation by closing the mints to silver, as he has always maintained must be done to prevent the two metals from parting company and to preserve their parity. The endorsement of the Chicago platform of 1892 by the democratic convention of Texas last year, effected after a sharp conflict between the two wings of the party, affords, with its incidents, indubitable evidence that the views here expressed are correct. Judge Reagan refused to run on the platform, because, as he frankly declared, it did not accord with his silver views, and although other silver leaders have attempted to construe it in harmony with the demand for free silver, it is safe to say, that the intelligent masses will not accept such construction: but will argue this question further. Did not the

Bland bill, by authorizing the making of contracts stipulating for payments in gold, pave the way for the flooding of the country with gold obligations, thus laying burdens upon the people from which they will not be able to rid themselves probably for years to come? Did not a Texas legislature, overwhelmingly democratic, refuse to pass an act to prohibit the making of such contracts? Did not the same legislature refuse to condemn Col. Mills for voting with the gold men? But in 1888, when the democratic platform contained no expression on the subject of free coinage, and when the republicans were denouncing Mr. Cleveland's administration because of its efforts to demonetize silver, the union labor party declared, "That while we have free coinage of gold, we should have free coinage of silver," and afterwards, in 1892, when the democracy put forth its famous silver declaration, the intricacy and doubtful construction of which have been to the party a ceaseless torment ever since, the people's party said in their platform: "We demand the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1." When all of these platform declarations are considered it will not be difficult to determine what party is entitled to the honor of first putting forth the demand for free coinage at the existing ratio.

But I would be false to myself and the cause I represent to-day if I did not warn my populist friends that monetary reform, however sorely needed, will not bring the lasting and full relief which the country needs. It may lead to the production of wealth, but it will not afford the economic conditions necessary to the equitable distribution of wealth. It will bring increased prices for farm products, but it will greatly enhance the value of land and place land still further beyond the reach of labor. Even in our present distress we see land values getting beyond the reach of the laboring man. The scant money supply makes everything cheap but land. Population is ever growing—land cannot grow, except in value. The presence of population makes constantly increasing land values. The morrow always brings increased demand for land, because of the growing population, but alas! the land itself remains fixed in amount. There is no more of it now than when the world

first commenced revolving in space. As population encroaches upon the land supply more and more the tenant class increases, and more and more enforced idleness prevails. Yet, we say in our meetings, all wealth is produced by labor applied to land. Labor must have land or perish! But where will it get it? Speculative holdings have already produced an artificial scarcity of land in Texas, where unnumbered thousands of acres are out of use. Must this condition remain indefinitely? Must the sons and daughters of the honest toilers of Texas, in the next generation, because of enormous speculative land values, become only the wage servants of the more favored classes? Brother Populists, look into this land question, for be assured that when settled on right lines it will forever solve the question of the equitable distribution of wealth. Even Judge Clarke shows that since 1834 the aggregate wealth of the nation has been constantly increasing, notwithstanding, as he claims, the prevalence of the gold standard. He might have gone back to the beginning of the century and shown the same thing.

The aggregate wealth has increased, and will continue to increase, however small the compensation labor is permitted to receive. Reduce it to a bare living, and compel it to serve in rags and filth, and it will still produce wealth rather than starve. The rags and filth will not cast a shadow on the beautiful creations of industry, even though they come fresh from the hovels of poverty to minister to the taste and comfort of those who "neither toil nor spin." The structure of wealth must still rise, even if the prostrate and tortured form of labor lies beneath its gilded foundation. It is not that the world grows more wealthy as the years pass, which gives labor its cause of complaint—it is rather the fact, that labor can only, under its present conditions, have such a portion of that which it creates as suffices to forever keep it dependent and enslaved—that, in fact, it must sit like Lazarus beneath the tables of the world's robbers, to pick up the crumbs and have the sores upon its body licked by the dogs. There is wealth enough and to spare, but it goes to the pampered few. Let us not forget that the millions of toilers are in more pressing need of remedy that shall prevent the unjust concentra-

tion of wealth, than they are for one which only can insure the increased production of wealth. Thus only can conditions be so changed, that labor may live in contentment and peace, reaping that which it sows, dwelling beneath its own self-provided shelter, and enjoying evermore the sweetness of independence.

## JUDGE NUGENT AT STEPHENVILLE.

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STANDS FLAT-FOOTED UPON THE ST. LOUIS PLATFORM.

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"It's Sneaking and Mean to go About Democratic Primaries"—Going to Smash Both Hogg and Mills.

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STEPHENVILLE, Texas, June 11, 1892.

The expected has happened. The crowd is here. They came early, have worked and talked all day and are still at it. It is the People's party's big day, and there are not only all the old-time kickers against the Democracy, but with them hundreds of recruits in the persons of old, live Democrats who never flickered before. There are here more voters, it is said, than at Clark's or Hogg's reception, and not only the speakers but all the hosts talk and act with the zeal that incites and makes possible reformations or wars.

At 11 o'clock, at the opera house, Chairman King introduced Judge Nugent, who said, succinctly :

There have been two immortal declarations made by the people of this country. The one the declaration of independence made in 1776, the other the St. Louis declaration made February 22, 1892. The one asserted the right of self government by the people and the independence of kings, the other asserts the right of industrial labor against monied tyranny, the emancipation of industrial labor from the thralldom and slavery of a government-created plutocracy. The one declared that the masses should be free from the rule and tyranny of king or kings, the other declared that the industrial masses ought and

shall be free of the rule, tyranny and oppression of the heartless dollar. The St. Louis declaration must be passed upon by the freedom-loving people at the next election. The eyes of the world are concentrated upon Texas. For years Texans have been growing more and more independent of the restraints of party rule and party bosses. Kansas broke loose at her last election, and her representatives in congress stand at the front of independent statesmen to-day. There is nothing in the newly-made Republican platform to justify the hope of any reform in the interests of the masses. In the South the Democracy has been supreme—in it we have centered every hope; to it we have looked, only in vain, all these long years. It was proper and right we should look to it because it was the party of our fathers. But it is clearly demonstrable that we cannot longer hope for any relief from the Democratic party. The fundamental principle of true democracy is enunciated in this single maxim: "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." It was proclaimed by Jefferson, is the substratum of true democracy in all ages, and is more clearly enunciated in the St. Louis platform than has ever been done before. Modern Democrats have quit the paths of the fathers.

Here are the national platforms of the Democratic fathers from 1840 to 1856. In those days the masses supported measures, not parties, and parties were forced to express and advocate some certain, well-defined principles and policies. The Democratic platforms in those days declared that "Congress had no right to charter national banks; that national banks were in deadly hostility to the interests of the people; would grow to be above the laws and will of the people," etc. When Jackson abolished the United States banks, the business of the country continued safe and prosperous. But now it is believed and was recently proclaimed by a banker in the convention at Waco, "that the higher the rate of interest the more prosperous the people"—they declare the rate of interest shows the volume of business and the degree of business prosperity, and the higher the better. Senator Dick Coke said the old banks that Jackson fought were puling babies compared with the monster banks we have to fight to-day. Up to 1856 Democrats declared flatly



against any and every kind of government banks and flatly for free seas and free trade with all the world. Since then the party has been dodging on every question of great importance to the people. The Watterson-Cleveland platform, and even the Lampasas platform, is a mere juggling with the highest political questions. The latter declares for the free coinage of silver and then sends Cleveland delegates to the national convention. Even Bayard in the Tilden campaign took special pains to deny that the Democracy was opposed to national banks and pointed to the vice-president candidate, English, whose bank had cleared 100 per cent. in fifteen months, and to August Belmont, the chief financial agent of the Rothschilds and the chairman of the national Democratic executive committee, as proof of the Democratic fondness and friendliness to national banks. Clear up to the war the Democratic party was against all species of class legislation.

By natural law a man is entitled to all the fruits of his labor without dictation or measure from any one, but men must have government and the government must be supported. It should be supported by every man in proportion to his means and no more. When government takes from a man more for its support than his share or more from its citizens than is necessary to an economically administered government, it becomes a robber. The United States government has been a robber for 100 years. The Republicans have the manhood to say they are for protection, but the Democrats favor "reform of the tariff" whatever that means. The Democracy of to-day is no more democratic than night is day. They have not had the nerve or honesty to declare for free silver nor free seas and free trade. They have worked for the offices and they got them, but we will mix it with them from now on from the presidency down. Party politics have degenerated into a mere machine for the success of selfish leaders. The question of free silver is all important and absorbing. Coke knows it, and all intelligent Democrats know it, yet they go on endorsing Cleveland, silver's worst enemy. They will nominate him or some other gold bug at Chicago and then come down South and bemean me and you for fighting for the money of the constitution. The present

Democracy, tested by every principle laid down by the fathers, guaged by every policy they advocated, judged by all their practices and usages, is not true democracy, and no sane, truthful man will say so. I don't deny the right to the Democratic party to advocate and do anything it pleases, but they must excuse me from wearing its brand and collar.

True Democrats want plenty of money and the widest, freest markets the world affords. When a man runs on a platform and goes back on the platform as Campbell of Ohio did, he ought to be beat. The national Democratic platforms since the war have consisted of fine spun platitudes made for politicians to juggle with and to bamboozle the people. From free trade they have slid down to "incidental protection," to a "tariff for revenue only" and are now hammering away on a tariff bill that will give high protection to some classes and no protection to other classes. They all show gradual slipping away from true Democratic faith. Parties, like the government, always steal the people's liberties gradually.

I voted for Tilden, and then and ever since the people were promised that if the Democrats ever got into power, we should have free silver, free trade, etc., and yet the other day a house of representatives, overwhelmingly Democratic, failed to vote for free silver. The truth is, their record shows that Democrats, so-called, have ceased to favor plenty of money and free trade. They are after getting in. They have no principles they will not abandon, no policies they will not yield. They are jugglers on platforms, dodgers on national banks, cowards on coinage of free silver and trading tricksters on the tariff. They have gone back on every platform up to 1856, and since then the main purpose of their platforms has been to catch 'em "agoing and acoming." Any platform suits these latter day Democratic leaders. They take the stump and cry aloud of the virtues and beauties of the old Democratic party. They say it is 100 years old, and can never die. It is not 100 years old. In spirit it died in 1856, and it lives to-day only in the name, which the latter day Democrats continue to disgrace. They will soon flood this district with speakers entreating you to "stay with the good old Democratic party." When they come, you

gather up their platforms and show them that their beloved party is neither good nor old. The democratic party is not any longer the friend of the industrial masses on the four great political issues in this nation—on transportation, on land, on trade and on money. Even with circulation limited to the product of unlimited free coinage of the two metals, there will not be any more industrial liberty and independence among the masses. Before contraction began and in its early stages, products of all labor were high. The redundant currency sought enterprises. The great northwest was developed. Money lenders could not rob the treasury. They had to hunt something other than blistering interest for their money to do and bring. Labor is the true measure of all values, and when invested in crops, must bring fair prices, or labor does not reap its just rewards. The wages of the salaried classes are not measured by the price of products. A clerk with \$1,000 a year gets the equal of \$2,000 a year, when the prices of his necessaries are cut one-half. So he does when the government contracts the currency one-half, or when there is only one-half the money in circulation. The statistics show that the income of all laborers have been constantly decreasing under the constant contraction of the currency, and that the incomes of farmers, in proportion to investments, have decreased more than any other class of workers.

The people's platform is a plain, simple enunciation of true democracy. I endorse every line and sentiment of it. It demands the control of transportation, that the lands should not be monopolized by individuals or corporations, that national banks must go and that money must be issued direct to the people. How this money is to be issued is with us, not only a national question, but a state question which must be solved. Party democrats lift their eyes in holy horror at the sub-treasury scheme while one candidate goes over the state wanting to lend the school money on railroad security and Judge Clark wants to lend it to the people on land security and the scheme has proven an eminent success. We want first to get into our circulation all the idle money in our public treasuries and we want a sufficiency of it in circulation to meet all the demands of a

prosperous trade. In principle the sub-treasury seeks such a quantity and flexibility of currency as will prevent a money corner on farm products or anything else; sufficient to enable the farmers to unload their crops without being robbed by the money monopolists; to enable them to defy the speculators etc., and if this cannot be done without the government becoming a money lender and pawnbroker then I say let it be a pawnbroker. I want a government that will deal out practical justice to all the people—that will secure to them equal and exact political and industrial justice. A government that does not do this is a failure, and for such a government, the St. Louis platform seeks. On state issues I am in thorough accord, I hope, with you. I voted for a commission and I am for the law as it now stands. But there is danger in the commission—danger of doing injustice, danger of setting precedents that will come home to vex and destroy our most cherished interests. This thing of turning over to three men one-third of the property in this state and allowing them to say to the railroad owners, you shall make only so much out of your investments, is a long stride in the wrong direction. It is contrary to the spirit of our institutions and is fraught with untold danger. The same principle would support a policy of placing other business or property in the hands or control of a government commission. At the very best a commission must be arbitrary, and while we cannot and will not submit to oppression by transportation companies we can not afford to be inconsistent or unjust. We must work out all these reforms on the straight line of equal and exact justice to all, or else all our labors will be vain and come home only to vex and destroy us.

I see no solution for this great question except that demanded by the People's party platform, viz: government ownership of all the railroads. I'll never consent to allow any commission to rob the railroad companies. I will not consent to a wrong. There are thousands of widows, orphans and employes whose bread and clothes depend upon the success of the railroads we have invited people to build in Texas. Three-fourths of these laborers look to-day to the People's party for justice, and they are going to vote with you in this great struggle. Let us do

justice to everybody and to every business. But I want to tell you that I don't believe in a railroad commission that is a mere sideshow to the governor—a kind of annex to the executive department. I don't want a commission that is a tool of any governor. I want it absolutely divorced from any administration, and, like Judge Clark, I want them to be elected by the people and be amenable only to the people. They should be beyond the dictation or power of the governor. Judge Clark is a noble, able, fearless gentleman, and while I do not agree with him exactly as to a commission law, I am with him as to an elective commission. If we strive only for exact justice we will win. This movement means destruction to plutocracy. We may not win in this campaign, but under the providence of God we will win. The burden is now heavy, but we must be patient and bear it and fight for it, only with logic and the ballot. Even down here in the ninth district the old parties are frightened nigh unto death. Now, in conclusion, let me say to you: Keep away from all and any so-called Democratic primaries. Be men and stand up under your own colors. It is cowardly, sneaking and mean for you to go about these Democratic primaries. Proclaim your own principles, enunciate your own policies, hoist your own colors, nominate your own candidates and vote your own ticket. Do this now and keep at it and victory is ours

The Judge was frequently applauded.



## JUDGE NUGENT IN ELLIS COUNTY.

[The Southern Mercury, Aug. 18, 1892.]

We clip the following report from the "People's paper," the Dallas *News*:

Judge Nugent spoke in an arbor. His appearance was the signal for universal applause. By simple clapping of hands and tapping on the benches he was welcomed. He discussed national politics entirely. He took up the democratic platform formulated before the war, which declared for free trade or a tariff for revenue only, and the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Then he came to the platform adopted by the national democratic convention in 1876, at St. Louis when Tilden was nominated, which declared for a tariff for revenue only, but said nothing about the free coinage of silver. He said he came next to Grover Cleveland, whom Mr. Dana called "the stuffed prophet," and about the only thing he had been stuffed with was tariff reform. The democracy having been beaten in 1880, even though that brave soldier Gen. Hancock headed the ticket on a reiteration of the tariff plank of 1876, the convention of 1884 committed the democratic party for all time to come to the policy of raising the revenues of the government by tariff taxation. The plank of 1884 irrevocably committed the democratic party to incidental protection. It expressly said that no interest depending upon legislation for existence should suffer at the hands of the democratic party. What else did it say? It said that enough revenue must be raised to keep the faith of the government with its creditors and pensioners. He had thought from what the democratic orators had said, when they were going around charging the people's party with wanting to pay to the Union soldiers the difference between the wages they received and gold, that the very word pension was an abomination to the democratic heart, and yet in the platform

it occupied a conspicuous place and the faith of the party was pledged to the present system. Still there was not a word of free coinage in the Democratic platforms, and thus the party had completely receded from the position taken before the war and was not a Democratic party any longer. Their platforms, instead of expressing the convictions of the party on public questions, were intended merely to catch votes and when that end had been accomplished the platform had served its purpose well. As to the free coinage of silver, there would be no excuse for the attitude of the Democratic party. In 1889, when the Democrats had a majority in both branches of congress, the house passed the Warner bill and enough Democratic senators allied with the Republicans to beat the bill. In this congress, when enough Republican senators had allied themselves with the Democrats to pass a free coinage bill, a Democratic house has failed of its duty. Twenty-nine states in their Democratic platforms last year had demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and yet the representatives went on to Washington and voted against the bill in the interest of Wall street and against the wishes of their people. This time they came before the people with a declaration on the silver question that meant absolutely nothing. If the Democratic party wanted a tariff for revenue only and the free coinage of silver, let them nominate a man who was the embodiment of both these issues and whose election meant that those issues would triumph, instead of putting up a man who embodied no issue. The Democratic orators in congress were sending out as a part of the *Congressional Record* Henry George's book on protection and free trade and trying to adopt it as their slogan, but they did not fool the people as easily as that. Henry George, who did not write for office but as a statesman and a philosopher, pointed out the very dangers that lay in the way of adopting a tariff for revenue only. The judge read several chapters from Henry George's book to sustain this position. The People's party, he said, comes before you with a square declaration on all issues. We declare for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. We declare that wealth belongs to him who creates it. Some people have so misconstrued this



declaration that they say we want to give all the money to the day laborers of the country.

There are three great factors in the production of wealth—land, labor and capital. If you were to go out into a desert without any money or without any implements you would not be a great producer of wealth. If you were to raise a bale of cotton and keep it in a room you would have produced no wealth. But having grown it and picked it, you carry it to the man who has put his land, labor and capital into a gin and he gins it and prepares it for market. The People's party platform declares that every dollar taken from the man who creates wealth without an equivalent is robbery. It is just as much robbery as if a man were to steal your corn from your crib without giving you some equivalent for it. And it is just as much robbery to take money from a railroad without giving it some equivalent as it is to take your horses when you are asleep. A railroad is a great industrial enterprise. It combines all the wealth producing factors—land, labor and capital. It is one of the necessities of civilization and a benefit to society. The Democratic party of Texas invited these railroads to come here. It held up its hands and said, we have a great state, an undeveloped state and likely to produce enormous tonnage. Come in here and help build it up and we will treat you right. The Democratic party of Texas even wanted railroads so badly that it went to the extent of giving the companies great bodies of the public domain in order to induce them to come in and help develop the state. These roads were entitled to the same protection as the farmer and taking money from them was just as much robbery as taking the farmer's money from him.

Col. Mills, who is a great man in his own estimation, is now going about the state saying that the free coinage of silver would only increase the circulating medium about \$15,000,000 and would not be any great relief to the people after all. Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance clearly pitched the lines of the campaign upon the tariff and the threat that the Republicans would pass a force bill if they got in power, and Mr. Mills is assiduously following out that line of political action. Col. Mills said the only way to get an equal distribution of wealth

was by reduction of tariff taxes. That is a fallacy. Take England, where they say they have free trade, and the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer all the time, just as they are in this country. As to the force bill, the same Republican senators who voted against it before are still in the Senate and will vote against it again, the People's party are squarely committed against it, so the chances of the Republicans getting a force bill enacted are very remote.

Judge Nugent at length went into the question of taxation, holding that every man ought to be taxed in proportion to the amount of property owned. He also touched lightly upon the question of the government ownership of railroads as the only solution of the railroad problem, and merely referred to the sub-treasury.

The reception of the speeches was refreshing to one who has been nauseated by yelling and howling and the deafening efforts of brass bands. There was no big bass drum to beat or cymbals to clash whenever the drummer thought the speaker made a hit. There was no jumping - up-and-knocking-your-heels-together style of enthusiasm. All the speakers were listened to with intense interest. Men and women bent forward eagerly to catch every word. Every eye spoke the intense thirst of the owner for knowledge, the desire to hear it all. Whenever there was applause it was quiet but deep. During Judge Nugent's speech there were frequent utterances, such as, "That's so," "Now you are hitting them." Judge Nugent's reference to Mr. Mills, quoted above, brought out the heartiest applause of the day.

## JUDGE NUGENT ON THE BURNING.

[Dallas News.]

Judge Nugent has prepared his views on the recent burning of the negro Smith at Paris and the governor's message thereon as follows:

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, Feb. 15.—I am constrained to add a word to the comments on the Paris horror which have occupied of late so large a place in the columns of your excellent paper. Looking at the merely human side of the unfortunate affair, no candid man can fail to admit that almost any community in Texas, or elsewhere, might, under like circumstances, have done the same thing. Does this justify the torturing of a human creature as an expiation for crime? Christianity can only make one reply to this question. No crime possible to human depravity can warrant a resort to refined cruelty in the infliction of punishment. If the unbridled human passion or the thirst for revenge is to be left free to adapt the mode of punishment to the nature of the crime, under the false notion that the one must be commensurate with the other, it is easy to see that the foundation of our social and political system must soon give way. At the same time, it requires an unusual amount of insight to perceive that a community wrought up to a pitch of excitement such as that which impelled the Paris people, and particularly the relatives of the murdered child, are scarcely to be regarded as responsible for their acts. Does any one believe that the father of little Myrtle Vance was in a rational frame of mind when applying the implements of torture to Smith's quivering flesh? That a frenzy of grief and rage had taken from him the power of self control—indeed had bereft him of reason for the time being—I have little doubt. How idle, therefore, to think of punishing him, or, indeed, those whose intense excitement over the unnatural crime led

them to give encouragement to the awful execution. We must judge of things as they are, not as we would have them to be. So judging, humanity, while condemning the execution with its terrible incidents, will not fail to drop tears of pity for the father of Myrtle Vance—pity carrying with it unaffected sorrow for the conditions that made both crime and execution possible. What, it seems to me, is chiefly to be lamented is that men at a distance from the place of execution and who witnessed none of its sickening details even now justify all that was done. This is the ominous fact—the fact fullest of peril to society. Next to this in danger to social integrity stands the fact that such eminent gentlemen as ex-Senator Maxey publicly defend the mode of execution as under all circumstances justifiable. Judge Maxey is justly distinguished in the political history of the country and is a member of a respectable Christian church. His humane disposition would not permit him to look upon the unhappy victim writhing amid devouring flames—and yet he defends it. That he should do so adds confirmation to what I have said as to the abnormal state of feeling that prevailed at Paris. Christian people do not always remember the scriptural saying: “Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.” No, we cannot afford to ignore Christianity and its chastening, harmonizing influences, in passing judgment on such occurrences. Gov. Hogg’s message was creditable to his humanity. It shows that he is an earnest, honest and courageous man, although strangely incautious and very often unwise. His recommendations are not to be thought of for a moment as proper to be enacted into laws. They are extreme, born of the hot impulse of the moment, and essentially unwise and unjust. Doubtless his excellency will himself disapprove of them when the horrible picture of the Paris burning no longer distorts and obscures his better judgment. Still his recommendations will bear fruit and the final remedy will, I think, be found not in fierce legal retributions but in wholesome methods of prevention. But here open up questions of reform in respect to the administration of the laws which I can not now venture upon.

T. L. NUGENT.

## SOUND AND LOGICAL,

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NUGENT BLAZES THE WAY FOR ALL POPULISTS TO TREAD.

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The People's Party is the only Party with Consistent Declarations and Principles on the Money Question.

[The Southern Mercury, July 18, 1895.]

There are some good meaning populists who believe that by scaling down our platform and confining the campaign of next year to the financial issue, our chances of success will be greatly increased. Practically the campaign will turn upon the money question since the logic of events has forced it to the front; but this, as I have endeavored before to show, does not justify the pruning process advocated by the parties referred to. Indeed, the money question, as understood by the rank and file of the people's party, is quite distinct from that advocated by the so-called silver or bi-metallic party. With the latter, the free and unlimited coinage of silver is the sole vital issue before the country; while populists, not underrating the silver question, have always contended that full monetary relief can only come to the country from a comprehensive financial scheme involving: 1st, the abolition of banks of issue altogether, and their total divorcement from the general government; 2d, the practical recognition and enforcement of the doctrine that the money coining and issuing function belongs exclusively to the government; and, that government should, upon some proper plan, emit and keep in circulation a sufficient volume of metallic and paper money to supply the demands of trade; 3d, that all the forms of money so issued should be of equal legal tender quality, and that no part of it should consist of convertible,

treasury notes. In other words we insist upon a system of true scientific money, maintained permanently by the government without dependence upon intermediary agencies of any kind whatever. It will be seen that this system necessarily includes the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, the ratio of which our platform declares should be sixteen to one. The silver people do, indeed, propose that the government shall issue legal tender paper currency, but only in the form of credit money,—that is in coin. They will not concede our demand for inconvertible notes, and if we go to them, we must do so, not upon any demand for a comprehensive system of money which we believe can alone bring our people permanent relief from vicious financial legislation, but upon a demand virtually for free coinage alone, which, if obtained, will leave the essential money question unsolved. View the suggestions as you may, it amounts to this and only this. If carried out, we might enable the silver leaders to hold their places, but would there be much outcome for the people's party, or the cause of reform? We might afford to support Reagan, or Bryan, or Stewart, or Jones, or any other one of the silver leaders, if by so doing the work of real, lasting reform could be advanced; but when by doing so, we must close our eyes to every issue, except the single one of silver rehabilitation.

I, for one, can see only disaster as the outcome of such a policy. Populists have advocated free coinage for years. While the old parties were dodging the silver issue, trying to get on both sides of it, making platforms construed to favor gold monometalism in the east, and anything or nothing in the south or west, according to the stand-point from which they were regarded, the people's party in convention assembled made a straight, honest declaration in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1.

And now, after all these years of juggling and dredging, during which not a single declaration in favor of the white metal ever crept into the old party platforms, the silver leaders step to the front and, with suavity and cheek characteristic of the trained politician, invite us to enter the democratic party, meekly take back seats and listen to the old-time eloquence with

which we have been for so many years regaled. These periodic howls in favor of the white metal have hitherto led to no result, for the reason that after the election they always sink into the usual democratic monotone—stand by the party. I wonder that any number of populists can be moved by the old hypocritical dodge that has broken up and destroyed every reform party movement in this country for thirty years past. “Stay in the old party. We believe as you do on this question. We are for free silver or greenbacks. Come back into the fold.” Yet some of the very men who tell us this say they will vote the ticket even if the platform declares for a gold standard. Indeed, did not Judge Reagan, to whom we are in the habit of attributing high, patriotic purposes, after declaring that he could not honestly run for governor on the last state democratic platform, support the entire state ticket nominated on that platform? Did he not justify his action by virtually saying that anything was preferable to populism? How, then, can we consistently support people who thus prefer even gold monometalism to the policies advocated by the People’s party?

Kentucky has set the pace for the next campaign. Her approval of Cleveland and the Chicago platform, coupled with her nomination of a free silver man for governor, shows what can be expected from organized democrats—only betrayal of the people in the interests of party success.

T. L. NUGENT,  
Fort Worth, Texas.





## HON. T. L. NUGENT'S VIEWS.

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### A STRONG PAPER ON THE LEADING QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

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The Greenbackers did their Work well, but the Populists have a Greater Work before them. Should Labor be Bound or Free ?

(The Southern Mercury, Jan. 24, 1895.)

I am glad to see the Mercury is moving ahead on orthodox populist lines. It is no time to swap platforms, but rather to broaden our vision so as to take in all that is comprehended in the declaration of faith made at Omaha in 1892.

The political elements are now in a state of almost chaotic unrest; but the nucleating process has already set in, and goes on with unabated intensity and persistence. The tendency to draw together upon a common ground of fundamental truth—truth already declared in the Omaha platform—is wide-spread among reformers. To give it practical force and effect, we need only to educate; and to educate, our editors must get upon the higher ground of social and humane thought. There ought not to be any backwardness in putting the full truth before the people. Thomas Jefferson's life was made sublime by the fact that he trusted the people, and was never afraid to speak out plainly what he thought. We must do likewise. The masses are brave and true. Had we their courage and faith, it would be better for the cause we represent. If we fear and tremble, if, chilled by the danger of present defeat, we shrink from the full assertion of our convictions of right, and dole out half truths to the famishing people, our party record will soon have the word failure written all over it.

The greenbackers, every one of them a hero and a patriot, worked out their mission when they demonstrated to popular

apprehension the fallacy of intrinsic value, and planted in the people's thought the truth that money is solely a creature of law, not the substance, but function impressed upon substance by the sovereign decree of government. Thus the science of money, once a mystery of the schools, has become a part of our common, everyday knowledge. Yet the time was not then ripe for the adoption of a rational monetary system, and the greenback movement, therefore dwindled and failed. Its mission was to sow the seed for the future harvest. Had it obtained possession of the government, it is doubtful whether it would have brought more than temporary relief to the people, under the conditions which then prevailed. With speculative ownership of land, private control of railroads, telegraphs, etc., and banks of issue still left, the favored classes would have continued to absorb the wealth of the country, and social conditions, after a while, would have grown worse. For these are the factors in our industrial system which produce the undue concentration of wealth; and so long as they are left free to operate, any sudden stimulation of productive forces, whether brought about by a redundant circulation or otherwise, must, after a brief period, only aggravate social inequalities, by bringing more wealth within the power of monopoly. If the laborer is, by any means, enabled to increase the stock of wealth, is his condition improved if, barred off from natural bounties by the speculative land monopolists, he finds himself unable to exert his labor for his own benefit? If he still works for his own employer for the want of land upon which to exert his labor, how can he be anything else than the employe of another? And if he is compelled thus to be dependent, must he not continue to surrender the fruits of his labor to the man who stands over him in the attitude and relation of master? So it is plain to see that while greenbackism involved a great truth, its day had not quite come. Truth can only make its way as men are prepared to receive it; the preparation is a matter of growth, of evolution. It is because of this fact that so much time is needed to work out social problems. It may be said, indeed, that defeat and disappointment await, at first, every scheme for the betterment

of human society. The cold and callous conservatism that lies dormant in all human institutions is easily quickened into ferocious opposition to every movement that threatens to change, or seeks to turn loose the spirit of freedom in the bosom of organized society. Thus, every advance in human thought develops reactionary tendencies of a more or less violent character. It is easy, therefore, to see why the greenback movement aroused all of the opposition inherent in the old money fallacies; and why, out of the conflict has come the single gold standard—the logical result of views which persist in identifying money with commodity. Yet, though the reaction of greenbackism has carried us to the extreme of gold monometalism, as gold alone cannot supply the world's demand for money, even the gold standard men concede that resort must be had to paper currency. The question, therefore, now is not whether paper money shall be used as an essential part of the country's circulation, but whether the banks or the government shall issue it. This brings, once again, prominently before the country, the old greenback question, viz.: Whether the issuing of money is the proper function of government, or a matter of private business to be turned over to the banking corporations. But it finds conditions more favorable to its just consideration.

The past twenty years have witnessed a wonderful advance in economic thought. Henry George has shattered the idols of old political economists, and a freer spirit has followed in the wake of his political teachings. Political economy is no longer the dismal science. It has entered into the world's common thought, and, in the light of the new theories, is seen to be the truth of humanity, boldly asserting the rights of labor, upon the broadest ground of natural justice. The law of natural justice demands that labor should have the fullest opportunity to produce wealth. This is its birthright. And how can it create wealth so long as it is denied access to land?—so long as land is the subject of private appropriation for speculative purposes? Destroy monopoly in land so that labor may have access to it upon easy terms, and you establish at once the condition most favorable to free and active production. There

will then be no lack of opportunity. Labor will enter the field of production unfettered—no longer the victim of unjust exactions. It is because such a condition is seen to be one of essential justice, that the heart of humanity has responded so generously to Henry George's land theories. Production, under the freest possible conditions, is what these theories propose, and this is what labor needs, since real freedom in production means the free use of that upon which labor must exert itself. This must always be the first concern of intelligent labor, and vast numbers of earnest thinkers have come to see it clearly. This is why the land question has found such lodgment in the public mind. But the social problem does not stop with the question of production. It takes in that of distribution also. Free production, however, means of itself equitable distribution, since it proposes that each man shall own and enjoy that which his skill and industry produces. The land question means all of this; but yet, in our highly organized social and industrial system, there must be some adequate means of exchanging the products of labor, in order that the full benefits of free production may be obtained. The money question, therefore, comes to the front linked with the land question. The two cannot be separated, and when both are solved aright, labor will be free.

Here we find the groundwork of real, lasting and comprehensive reform. Strikes, boycotts, etc., are but temporary and partial remedies at best, and now that Debs has been sent to jail, it is safe to say labor can no longer avail itself of these. If it should invent other modes of resisting wage reduction, corporate wealth may safely rely upon the courts to nullify them. An extension of the new doctrine of constructive criminality, or a resort to judicial discretion, as exemplified in the late contempt proceedings at Chicago, will easily do the work. Wage earners will be enjoined, practically deprived of a jury trial, fined and imprisoned under the jurisdiction now claimed by the courts of equity; and thus, in the name of law and order, may they be stripped of natural rights, in the defense of which humanity has bled upon a thousand battlefields; and yet, what politician or newspaper, claiming to represent the old parties,

will fail to sustain such judicial outrages! Jefferson's fear of the courts under a federal system of government has been fully justified by these unconstitutional proceedings, and the blow to liberty, which his prophetic vision foresaw, falls first on wage earning labor. Is it not clear to any candid and thoughtful mind that labor has but few rights to-day which organized capital is bound to respect, and that the special right, which it esteems more highly than all others, the right to have a voice in fixing its own compensation, is utterly and, if present conditions remain, hopelessly gone? For, what hope is there for labor if it has lost its royal prerogative, which alone gives it dignity and independence? What, then, must labor do? This is the answer: Let it abandon makeshifts and expedients, except when desperate straits make them necessary, as dernier resort. Let us beware of coercive methods which put unnatural restrictions upon the free competitions of civil life, and use them, if at all, only when the struggle for existence is upon it. Let it learn that the wage question is not so much a question of dollars and cents as of liberty; that liberty, in its last analysis, is synonymous with opportunity, and that opportunity in any just sense can only come to labor when conditions shall afford it the right to fix its own compensation. Let it finally learn the lesson so impressively taught by all history that only the ballot can bring such conditions.

If organized labor could fully comprehend the situation it might, even now, while its noble martyr languishes in a dungeon, organize victory in the face of apparent defeat. The Omaha platform means victory for the laboring men in all the grades of service—victory lasting and complete, attained by normal methods along the lines here indicated—victory that shall bring liberty, opportunity, manhood; victory, therefore, that shall leave the wage question behind when the smoke shall lift from the political battlefield. Will the banded brotherhoods of toilers get upon it with us, and help to win such a victory in the next national contest? Shall 1896 witness the complete enslavement of labor, or prove to be its year of jubilee? Organized labor can alone solve this momentous question! Will it do it?

T. L. NUGENT.



## NOT ASHAMED TO THINK.

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### JUDGE NUGENT'S REPLY TO DR. RANKIN'S LETTER.

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Declares That He Is Neither Ashamed Nor Afraid To Think—Gives His Views On "Progress And Poverty"—Sarcastic References.

[Fort Worth Gazette, July 11, 1894.]

*To the Gazette:* I notice in a late issue of your paper a letter from Dr. J. D. Rankin charging me with being a "communist," an "anarchist" and a "socialist." To those who know me this furious onslaught will be rather amusing than otherwise, but some people may suppose that the doctor has ground for his criticisms, and for their benefit, a word of explanation may appropriately be given. Let me say, however, in advance that far from denouncing farmers as "robbers," I have always held and still believe that they are the innocent victims of more outrageous and systematic robbery than any other class of our citizens. The statement attributed to me by the report of my speech before the Carpenters' Union, which I do not remember to have seen before, has no foundation in fact to rest upon. It resulted, evidently, from a gross misconception of what I did say. Again, I cordially agree with the doctor that interest has been a great oppressor of the race during all of the ages, but I believe that rent has been equally its curse and destroyer. I do not believe, however, that mankind will ever reach a social state or condition short of the millenium in which both interest and rent will cease to exist. Land, labor and capital will remain to the end as the factors employed by organized civil society in the production of wealth, and as long as these remain rent and interest in some form or degree will con-

time to exist. What a man produces by his labor, i. e., capital, he has a right to by the laws of natural justice; it belongs to him, and belonging to him he has a right to charge for its use. Hence if a man improve real estate, he may legitimately demand a rental from him who uses it. No one believes in so burdening such improved real estate as to oppress the owner, though many thoughtful men think that taxation should be so adjusted as to fall most heavily upon the man who "monopolizes land for speculative purposes."

#### HERITAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

What specific measures should be passed to abate the evils of land speculation the platform of the People's Party does not set forth. It only declares that "land and other natural resources are the heritage of the people and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes," and this fundamental proposition commands my unqualified assent. I have not reached the conclusion that the "single land tax" as advocated by Henry George should be at this time adopted in Texas; but rather incline to the opinion that a reasonable exemption of improvements—that is, an exemption up to some reasonable value—would, by increasing the burden on improved land largely held by non-residents, encourage home building and discourage investments in land to be held out of use for the purpose of reaping the enhanced value which results from the settlement of the country. While doing this I would continue assessments on other forms of property.

In these matters as in others, it might be well to enlarge the powers of local communities so as to enable them to take care of their own interests. The doctrines of the extreme socialists and communists I have no sympathy whatever with; Bellamyism I regard as the loveliest of dreams—a state or condition that might prevail among angels, but totally unfit for selfish human beings. Anarchy to me is utterly odious, and I verily believe Dr. Rankin is nearer to it now than I can ever get. I believe essentially in a government of law and order erected on substantial justice and equality. To attain this condition the government should take charge of all public utilities—should



in fact exercise all strictly social and public functions, but should leave the citizen in full, undiminished possession of all his private matters, the arbiter of his own destiny, the architect of his own fortune—yes, should turn over to him whatever he may legitimately seek to attain by the free exercise of his own individual faculties and powers. In fine, I am a pronounced believer in a robust individualism exercised in all legitimate and proper ways, that is, ways which do not infringe upon personal rights on the one hand or lead into the domain of public functions on the other.

#### PUREST DEMOCRACY.

Destroy monopoly in land, transportation and money by any admissible form of legislation, and the citizen in his individual capacity can be safely trusted to take care of himself. This I call the purest of democracy, though I see no objection to its being designated as quasi-socialism. The extreme socialists aim at the destruction of many institutions which I regard as valuable, and hence I am not an extreme socialist. If populists can succeed in breaking up the trinity of monopolies here referred to, they will open avenues for legitimate investment, disenthral individual industry and skill, reduce rent and interest to the minimum and give wings to individual freedom and hope, and all this they will do by strictly proper and normal methods, without revolution or violent disturbance of any kind. I have no doubt that Mr. George has taught more sound, economic truth than all the writers whose books have been thrown upon the market within the past twenty years, and yet, there are many views stated by him in his wonderful and luminous writings that I do not concur in. Because Dr. Rankin scolds at him and denounces him as a socialist, it would be unwise to conclude that he is any thing of the kind. Indeed the real philosophic writers of the period have long since ceased to class him with the socialists, who themselves will not recognize him as one of their number. In fact, he is *sui generis*—a bold, original thinker, who does not hesitate to follow the deductions of his own reason, however they may clash with the notions of other people. He doubtless expects too much from

the single land tax, and too greatly undervalues other remedies; but all the same, I take off my hat to the fearless thinker, whose honesty and humanity have induced him to throw the light of his great intellect along comparatively unexplored pathways of investigation, and whose bugle-call of action, however doubtfully it may sound to others, has aroused the "heart-sore and footsore" multitudes of earth to shake off the dust of ages and stand for the rights and dignities of labor.

#### WORLD'S CONSPICUOUS CHAMPION.

Other men may improve upon what he has done, but he stands forth to-day as the world's most conspicuous champion of equal rights—the one single man who, years before reform had taken the definite form of a great party organization, met monopoly upon its own vantage ground, and threw in its teeth the challenge to battle. That he has made mistakes, no one will deny; that all of his views are sound, no one will contend; but the shrivelled soul that would deny to him his true position among the world's teachers because he has not seen fit to specialize his work by championing some superficial hobby will labor in vain to dim the luster of his glory, or deprive him of the place which he occupies in the affections of the toil worn poor, whose defense has been at once the burden and the inspiration of his life.

Mr. George's greatest book, "Progress and Poverty," was largely written to correct certain fundamental errors respecting the relations of wages and capital, which had received almost universal recognition. Having by a demonstration, matchless in its luminous and convincing character, shown that "wages are produced by the labor for which they are paid," and not by capital, he next proceeds to destroy the Malthusian theory which holds that "increase of population must tend to reduce wages and deepen poverty," and to show the reverse of this to be true, viz: that "in any given state of civilization a greater number of people can be better provided for than a smaller," and finally expounds the "laws of distribution," reaching the conclusion that ownership of land which gives the right to hold

it from use for speculative purposes is the cause of that increase of population and wealth.

“ PROGRESS AND POVERTY. ”

Now, Mr. George may not have succeeded in solving this greatest of all economic problems with the degree of certainty and the elaboration of details which usually attend the demonstrations of Dr. Rankin; but it is only according him justice to say that “ Progress and Poverty ” has not only convinced the worker that he is engaged in producing his own wages, but, in so convincing him, has put into his bosom a new sense of his own dignity and inspired him with a new determination to claim that which justly belongs to him. That Dr. Rankin can only see “ communism,” “ socialism,” “ anarchism ” in this wonderful book may be a great misfortune to Mr. George, but its deductions have been approved by Jere Simpson, the Populist congressman, Thomas G. Sherman, the great lawyer, whose wealth consists almost entirely of real estate, and by many others eminent among various classes of reformers, and none of these people, be it said, sees in them any of the dangerous tendencies which Dr. Rankin seems so much to dread.

One word more. Not a word have I ever written or spoken that justifies the *Gazette* in saying that I am more addicted to Bellamyism or Georgeism than to Populism, as set forth in the Omaha platform. I fully endorse every plank in the Omaha platform and stand fully and unequivocally with our people in defense of it. Still, having all my life, even from childhood, been reading and thinking for myself, I am not disposed to dry up the fountains of my intellect or refuse to replenish them with streams of truth that may flow from any source. Hence I have derived inspiration even from “ Looking Backward ”—and that, too, while believing that the beautiful vision reflected from its pages can never, while men are selfish, be realized in organized human society. I am neither ashamed nor afraid to think.

T. L. NUGENT.



## JUDGE NUGENT'S CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY,

[The Palo Pinto Star, Nov. 8, 1879.]

*Gentlemen of the Grand Jury:*

When, nearly a hundred years ago, our ancestors, in convention assembled, adopted and promulgated the constitution of the United States, they sought to formulate and transmit for the permanent use of their posterity certain great principles, the recognition and observance of which they believed to be necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and the blessings of free government. The idea of a written constitution, distinctly defining and limiting the powers of government on the one hand, and carefully guarding from unjust encroachment on the other the vital liberties of the people, was not to them a crude and novel suggestion, hastily developed and executed under the pressure of a great emergency. It had been long before evolved out of the discussions of past generations, and was not only familiar to them as a theory long entertained by leading minds, but must have been forcibly suggested by recent occurrences with which they were deeply involved. Indeed, it must have been evident to them that an organic law which existed only in immemorial usage and left executive authority to be measured alone by the shifting boundaries of an uncertain and doubtful prerogative often pushed to the extreme of absolutism, was ill suited to a new people just starting on a career of self-government, full of the spirit of heroic adventure and intent upon securing beyond the danger of infraction those great rights for which they had willingly fought and bled. England had grown great, rich and powerful under her unwritten constitution, yet the flexible and yielding forms of that constitution had on many notable occasions been bent and perverted to

advance the ambitious views of despotic princes, and that, too, under a plausible and apparently sincere claim of right. Hence it was that the framers of the American constitution sought to incorporate in that instrument clear and unmistakable declarations affecting the rights of the citizen and well-defined limitations upon the exercise of authority which should forever obviate all danger to human freedom which arises from the possession of uncertain and doubtful powers. Those principles of the common law—England's unwritten constitution—which ages of experience had shown to be essential, were distinctly re-enacted, and the boundaries of authority were traced in that wonderful instrument with unerring certainty and precision. That declaration which, hundreds of years before, the barons had extorted from King John of England, was precisely set forth and its protection extended to every American citizen, and to-day it is the chief glory of our institutions that no citizen of this great republic can be deprived of life, liberty or property, except by due course of the law of the land. And this declaration, deemed so essential to the perpetuity of free institutions, has passed into the written constitution of every state in the Union, including that of our own great commonwealth.

But our organic law has not merely declared what the abstract rights of the people are. It has gone further and in defining or providing what shall be considered due course of law, it has made the people themselves the responsible and perpetual guardians of their own rights. From the first enactment of a law to its ultimate enforcement in the courts the popular judgment is sought to be embodied and expressed. Indeed, the whole machinery of government operates only as it is directed and impelled by the people's will acting through constitutional forms. Wherever we touch this wonderful and consummate system, we are brought at once under the influence and within the range of that august though invisible agency whose presence none can escape and whose manifestations are as varied and potent as the functions of civil government themselves. The laws are framed and adopted by representatives chosen by the free suffrage of the people; every executive officer in the state holds his office by virtue of the same sovereign choice—

while the judge who sits on the bench to construe and enforce the law is called to the discharge of his exalted duties by the popular voice expressed through the ballot box. Not only so; so carefully has our organic law sought to guard popular rights and induce an expression of the popular judgment in all important matters that no court of general jurisdiction is regarded as complete and organized for duty, until a grand jury has been organized and impaneled, and a petit jury have taken their seats in the jury box. Thus, while public functionaries are charged with most responsible and important duties connected with the wellbeing of society, the law will not tolerate the idea that to any single individual should be given the unrestrained authority to pass upon the rights and liberties of the citizen. The humblest man in the state has the right to demand a jury of twelve men to try his cause and if he be proceeded against on a felonious accusation, the law will not permit him to waive this great and valuable right. It must be apparent from this hasty summary that under our form of government, all responsible power is lodged with the people, and if grievances exist, the frequency of elections renders their correction easy and practicable by the exercise of the power of free choice, which is guaranteed to the suffragists of the state. Whatever good or evil may result to society from the enforcement or non-enforcement of the laws in the courts, is traceable finally to the actions of juries, upon whom the law devolves the responsibility of determining the guilt or innocence of persons charged with crime. The judge on the bench can only expound the law—issues of fact are placed beyond his control, except when in civil and misdemeanor cases the parties waive a jury. Periodically it is expected that every qualified citizen shall take his place in the jury box and thus constitute an important factor in the actual administration of justice. Thus the jury system enters into and forms a part of the judicial scheme of the state, representing and expressing the popular judgment on all issues of fact determinable in the court room. Hence, you will readily perceive, that as a matter of fact as well as of theory, the laws which the people enact are executed and enforced by the people

themselves, and, of the great rights of person and property guaranteed to the citizen, the people are made the responsible conservators by the organic law itself. How apparent, then, it is that justice can only be properly and efficiently administered when the people themselves are determined that it shall be so administered.

The constitution wisely provides, that no man shall be held to answer a charge of felony except upon the presentation of the grand jury. To convict one of felony is to disfranchise him utterly and place upon him a stigma which is practically inefaceable. To be deprived of the right to vote, or sit on a jury, or even to testify in a court of justice, are the awful consequences which follow a condemnation to the penitentiary. And when, to these terrible disabilities, we add the ban which society places on the convict and even his helpless and innocent offspring, we can understand why the framers of our organic law have made it possible to prosecute one accused of felony when nine or more intelligent freeholders have given their assent to a true bill of indictment, presented in open court, under the visible forms and solemnities of judicial proceedings. Nor is this a recent precaution, originated and devised by our own immediate lawmakers. Its traces are discernible far back in the dim twilight of English history, and it has descended to us by legitimate inheritance from our remote ancestors—an institution venerable for its antiquity and justly prized for the security it has always afforded the citizen against arbitrary and lawless power. You, gentlemen, as grand jurors, occupy to-day a station honored in the traditions of the great race to which you belong. You cannot be too profoundly impressed with the fact that you are the regular and legitimate successors in office of grand jurors who, many hundreds of years ago exercised similar functions in that remote age when our noble jurisprudence began to adjust itself to the lofty instinct, and aspirations of our liberty-loving ancestry. Nor ought you to be more sensible of the fact that the exalted station in which the law now places you has come down to you through many ages, conspicuous always for its use to humanity and bearing with it the approval of unnumbered generations.



In many respects your position, functions and privileges are of a peculiar and exceptional character. Ex-parte in your investigations and protected by the seal of secrecy which the law imposes on your deliberation, your freedom of action is abundantly secured against the violence and undue influence which too often undermine and destroy the utility and efficiency of human institutions.

The proceedings of no other tribunal are thus withdrawn by the law from popular observation. You are not to try causes, but to determine whether the evidence on behalf of the state is sufficient to warrant a prosecution. No individual when proceeded against has the right to appear before you with his witnesses, and contest the matter at issue between himself and the state. He can only await your action in silence, and when you have acted, his right to be heard in his own defense for the first time exists. His reputation, his rights, his liberties are for the time being at your mercy, and the law deprives him of the right to even know the fact. Your action being thus necessarily one-sided, so to speak, you can readily understand that your relations to society are of the most delicate and important character. If inspired by malice or urged by popular clamor, you should causelessly indict an innocent man, for the injury thus inflicted on private character and personal right, you could not be made answerable by any method or proceeding known to the law, since the grounds or reasons of your action cannot be inquired into. If, on the other hand, you should willfully abdicate your high prerogatives in the presence of a great emergency, and refuse to indict malefactors whose misdeeds are sanctioned and protected by a vicious public sentiment, good men might be stricken with despair and society paralyzed by the presence of evils it could not otherwise cope with; yet the law would still invest you with the mantle of complete irresponsibility. How great, then, is the trust confided to you, and how tremendous the moral responsibility under which you rest! It is well indeed that the qualifications of grand jurors are placed so high. For such a station and for such duty none but good men should be chosen, and such only, the law esteems fit to be grand jurors. To a good man, it makes little difference

whether his action can be called in question in a court of justice or in the higher forum of the conscience. In either case the rule of right is the rule of his conduct and, whether he deals with the concerns of an individual or with the larger interests of society, his sense of obligation will inevitably impel him to discharge his trust without faltering and without inflicting needless injury upon any one. To such does the law seek to commit the grand jury service of the country, and I trust, gentlemen, that the purpose and theory of the law have found a practical exemplification in your selection as grand jurors for the present term of this court.

I have been led, gentlemen, into these reflections by recent occurrences in your county which show that there are still men in our country who, forgetting the teachings of experience, the higher instincts of our nature and the admonitions of our common Christianity, are quite willing to substitute the dark and sanguinary methods of mob law for the safe, just and lawful procedure of the court room. Falsely concluding that crime cannot be punished in the courts, they hasten to take the law in their own hands and mete out a bloody vengeance at the muzzle of a pistol or end of a rope, upon those whom public suspicion has stigmatized as lawbreakers. It will not do to say in their defense that good men have engaged in these summary and unlawful executions. When society in the first stages of its formation, before courts and juries are provided, is compelled to resort to violent and irregular methods in order to protect itself against desperate combinations which threaten its existence, its action is justifiable upon principles which permit an individual to slay his antagonist when his life or person is put in extreme peril. But no community with an organized civil government complete in all its parts, in which courts are regularly and periodically held and a large majority of whose constituents are law abiding citizens, willing and able to enforce the law, can be placed in a situation which justifies a resort to such exceptional means of self-protection. It is idle to say, when a prisoner confined in jail is slain in the midst of his shackles, that he was a bad man, or that he had repeatedly evaded justice, or that his conviction in a lawful way would be

attended, if attempted, with great trouble and expense. Such excuses would be no defense in a court of justice where the laws are administered and, if allowable at all, they would constitute a convenient cloak beneath whose ample folds might be hidden the darkest and most horrible forms of crime which have come within the wide range of experience and observation. The human race, after the lapse of six thousand years, has not yet adopted the maxim, that the end justifies the means. Evils exist in society and have existed since our original progenitor lapsed from his condition of primitive innocence; and yet the omnipotent Creator has not seen fit to bring them to an abrupt termination by sudden, violent and irregular means. He has, in His wisdom, permitted them to infest human nature through long years of torturing experience, and we have no reason to believe that, for their eradication, he designs the use of other agencies than those which have been silently operating for so many centuries. Are we wiser or better than he? No, gentlemen, the reasoning by which good men reach the conclusion that it is right to rid society of disreputable characters by violating the law themselves, is delusive and ruinous. Organized society affords but one proper and effectual method of enforcing the law against men who infract its provisions, and a resort to any other is not only indefensible, but full of peril to the best interests of the citizens. A moment's reflection must satisfy any candid mind of the truth of this statement.

Courts and juries are instituted in order that the collective judgment of society may be invoked upon issues involving the rights of person or property of individuals. And society has deliberately ordained that its collective judgment, expressed under constitutional forms of its own creation, shall always be held essential to the trial and condemnation of a citizen on any accusation of crime. Each individual in society must be held to have given his assent to this wise and judicious arrangement in consideration for the protection which it, in turn, affords him. Thus a bond of reciprocal rights, of mutual duty and dependence is established by which the stability and unity of society is maintained—and thus, may I not add, every constituent member of society is enabled to engage in the pursuit of

earthly happiness with all the conditions of success that civil government can provide. But, suppose one or more individuals should conclude that the interests of society demand the killing of certain characters and should forthwith proceed to execute their purpose by violently taking their lives. Here the right of society to inflict punishment by the exercise of its collective judgment, obtained and expressed through judicial forms, has been defeated by the unauthorized and reckless action of a few individuals. Is it not plain that society is aggrieved? But suppose the bad precedent should be followed by others and yet again by others upon the same delusive principle that a free man may rightfully do that in the interest of society, which society, in its organization, reserved to itself the exclusive right to do. Does it need argument to show that just in proportion as this false assumption is acted upon will the bonds that bind society together be weakened? And if the vice should become universal, would not anarchy be the inevitable result? But not only is this the case—where mob law prevails the good as well as the bad are no longer safe. The man who takes the law in his own hands and visits summary punishment on an unconvicted and helpless prisoner above that which the law denounces against his crime, is himself in a fair way to despise the law and throw off restraints whenever it comes into collision with his interests or inclinations. The transition from mob violence to open and high-handed lawlessness is swift and easy. The commission of one crime, however disguised under glamor of good motives, soon paves the way to the commission of another. Break down the barriers which the law and the individual conscience throw around human action by taking one step in a career of vice, and the chances that the second step will be taken are indefinitely multiplied. Once started down the declivity of crime, and human philosophy and human experience can promise nothing but a final descent into the yawning chasm of hopeless and total ruin.

To all human reasoning, the man who can grant his consent to the unlawful and inexcusable slaying of a human being because he believes the interests of society demand his taking off, can hardly be expected to continue in every other respect a

law abiding citizen. Bearing about with him the consciousness that in the contemplation of the law both of God and man, he is guilty of the most atrocious offense known to the criminal calendar, is it presumable that he will always so govern his human passions and so master his human infirmities as at all times to preserve a proper perception of the rights of good men against whom mob law can find no pretext of violence? Be assured, gentlemen, the teachings of all experience are to the contrary. Mob law soon becomes as blind as justice. If persisted in, it induces the feeling that the courts and even the law itself are useless and costly encumbrances, if not mere expedients to cover up and protect crime. And when a community is given over to this belief, no man's life or property is secure. At first, as a rule, lynchers are men who act from honorable though terribly misguided motives. Assuming that society is unable to protect itself, they essay the task of affording it protection themselves. Soon, however, they receive accessions from the ranks of the evil disposed, and thus mob law becomes the convenient instrument of private malice or revenge. When this point is reached (and, unfortunately, it is reached but too soon), the good man is as unsafe as the law breaker, all moral distinctions as applied to the character and conduct of men are swept aside, and lawless might is enthroned as the only right to deal out impartial assassination to those who will not recognize its supremacy. The law can never be vindicated by its violation, nor can justice be promoted by the perpetration of wrong. If there are bad men in our midst, they can be punished in the courts. Let every good citizen but understand that the law imposes on him the duty to aid in its enforcement—let him feel that he is to some extent responsible for the administration of justice, and let him render aid to the civil officers in the spirit of the law itself, and guilty men cannot escape. Fifty men ride up to a jail and shoot a prisoner to death! Suppose these fifty men had labored with the same energy and zeal to have the law properly enforced against their murdered victim, could he have escaped if guilty? Every rational man must answer in the negative. The law provides too many methods of ferreting out crime to justify any other belief.

What we all need, gentlemen, is a more profound veneration for the law itself, a more steady and conscientious zeal for its enforcement in the courts, and a more resolute determination to discountenance and resist any departure from its wise and judicious methods. Given this, and the administration of criminal justice will become safe, certain and effectual.

It is well, gentlemen, from time to time, in a country like ours, to recur to first principles, to review the fundamental truths upon which the structure of our free institutions rests. Ours is emphatically a government of law. It admits of no method of violence in its ordinary administration. With its three co-ordinate branches, independent in their respective spheres, yet maintaining an unexampled unity and vigor by the mutual dependence and interplay of constitutional functions, it is nevertheless a government whose forms and procedure partake of the very spirit of peace and order. It is a government which equally eschewing arbitrary force on the one hand and unbridled license on the other, has found that happy means of liberty protected by law which is the highest civil state attainable by organized society. Could we appreciate this fact, our free government and the ordinary methods of protection which it affords the citizens would occupy a place in our affections second only to that filled by the gospel of the Savior of Man. Just at this time we are passing through an epoch in our national existence which renders such reflections peculiarly appropriate and opportune. To reflecting and serious minds, the times in which we live are invested with a solemnity which gives to them a painful and almost tragical interest. When the great civil war closed, thousands of volunteer soldiers resumed their places in society whose minds had become familiarized with the arbitrary ways of military life. Four years of strife and the reign of force had measurably displaced that veneration for peaceful methods which our traditions, our history and our form of government were so well calculated to inspire. Influence virtually at war with the ideas and traditional training of our people have been thus set to work in every locality in the Union—influences which tried in a greater or less degree to seriously modify, if not to change

wholly the theory of government itself. How far these influences shall prevail may be the great issue for American freemen to decide within the next decade. We may not have very much to say or do in the civil contest now looming up, which is to settle this issue in the great centers of population; but we may nevertheless, by sternly insisting on the simple procedure of the law and by unsparingly punishing any departure from it, aid in restoring to our immediate section that ancient regime which we know to be all sufficient to secure to us and our posterity those beneficent ends for which government was established among men—the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.

To the end that this may be done, gentlemen, I earnestly commend to you the task of investigating and bringing to punishment all those who in your county, by engaging in mob violence, have registered themselves as promoters of that evil tendency to arbitrary power which an unhappy period has entailed upon us, and which it is the duty of every American citizen to resist by the moral and legal means at his command.

T. L. NUGENT, Judge.





## JUDGE T. L. NUGENT DECLINES.

A Pre-Arranged Business Engagement Prevents, but the Non-Partisan Movement Will Receive His Hearty Support.

HE ARRAIGNS THE PARTY MACHINE.

*Hon. J. E. Martin, Chairman, etc., Fort Worth, Tex.*

MY DEAR SIR—I have already announced my inability to make the race for supreme Judge on the non-partisan ticket; but I deem it proper to address you on the subject in order that no misunderstanding may arise touching the motives which have prompted me to decline the nomination. And I am the more strongly inclined to this by the consideration that, having announced my purpose not to run, a failure to make known to you, the official head of the independent movement, the reasons which make this course on my part imperative might leave in the minds of some an injurious doubt as to my attitude towards that movement.

In the first place, before the convention made its nominations, I had tendered my resignation of the office of District Judge, under an arrangement to resume the practice of my profession, from which I could not withdraw without a breach of good faith, and without, I may add, disappointing gentlemen who are parties to that arrangement with the understanding that it is to be permanent.

In the next place, you will pardon me for saying that I know of no valid reason why the present Supreme Judges should be displaced. They are able, learned and most excellent gen-

lemen, and I believe their adjudications are in the main correct and thoroughly impartial. This assuredly is all the people could demand. In the hands of this court, headed as it is by the Chief Justice, whose exalted character and learning fit him to preside over any tribunal in the land, no man's rights need suffer. And if to this be added the consideration that frequent changes in judicial incumbents tend to unsettle the law and provoke litigation, it may be readily seen that, for the public good, which is best promoted by stability and uniformity of decisions, the present Supreme Judges should be retained.

But in addition to what I have said there is this to be added, that I have abandoned official life, with no intention or desire to return to it—for the reason alone that my duty to myself and family required me to do so. Hence I could not and would not accept the office of supreme judge if elected to it.

Having thus stated my reasons for declining the nomination tendered by the non-partisans, I desire it distinctly understood that I am in sympathy with the independent movement and shall support Jones and Broiles. For years past the political machine has ruled Texas. Conventions have met simply to effectuate prearranged nominations and to afford favorable opportunities to trade in the offices for which a canvass before the people has not been deemed necessary—to make good the decrees of the cabal, or “swap” political “horses.” Thus conventions and not the hustings have become the arenas of political conflicts, and the time-honored custom of settling political issues by public discussions before the people has gradually given place to adroit manipulation and management. And so it has also happened that our political campaigns have lost their old-time dignity and involve nothing higher than the rivalries and personal record, of candidates. Terrell tried the old way. He went to the masses with a great question—and was mercilessly slaughtered. The test of party fealty is to vote for the nominees—“never scratch a ticket or refuse a drink,” is the way to put it when the convention is in session and the fever is on. Inevitably, all this has led to the supremacy of the machine, and Texas to-day enjoys the distinction of having her political Warwick to shape her political issues, dictate

party platforms and manufacture governors out of the superabundant raw material lying around. Thousands of people have long seen this evil condition of things, but to no purpose. The conventions have proved omnipotent, and if now and then there have been sporadic cases of revolt, at the crack of the party whip the weak have succumbed, and even the strong and resolute have faltered. The people have thus been periodically whipped and scourged back into party ranks and practically deprived of their rulers every two years. The framers of our present constitution strongly believed in short terms of office, and hence they limited the term of the governor to two years. But he must be unsophisticated indeed who imagines that under our present political system the short term of two years can be anything more, practically at least, than mere legal fiction. The friends of Ross stand back and Ireland goes in for a second term, with the certain expectation (not disappointed, by the way) that next time Ireland's friends will rally to put Ross in; and as Ireland went in for a second term without Democratic opposition, so Ross, whose cut and dried endorsements have throttled all party resistance, has had his "calling and election" made doubly sure for a second term—so far as the machine can make it sure. Ross might probably go in for a third term if the hungry ones on the outside had not in creating the two-term custom also made one against holding for a third term; for, you see, the machine in adjusting the equities of the case must not tempt its own fortunes, or hazard its own existence, by leaving the famishing out to the gnawings of an inappeasible desire—"without God and without hope" (of office) in this world.

The drift of events in this singularly complicated election year shows the work of the machine in a most striking manner. Thus we find the Clark-Vincent letter laying down in terms almost of authority the test of party fealty on the great issue decided last summer, and we find thereafter the convention of the party to which these two gentlemen belong, with amazing and fatuous servility, accepting that test, and that, too, with a great show of harmony and enthusiasm. In vain did the brilliant Terrell protest—the words of wise old Coke

were as chaff. The party must be committed, even though the act of committal should evoke darkness enough to eclipse and extinguish all the light of genius and wisdom in the body.

The evil significance of the vote by which that convention unanimously adopted a platform containing substantially the "heart of oak" plank is not lessened, but greatly enhanced by the fact that many of the men in the body who thus recorded their own condemnation have, if reports be true, been busily engaged inventing excuses for their action—some in what seems bad faith, contending that the convention not having been called to nominate state officers had no jurisdiction of the question, others that the declaration known as the ninth plank is only binding for two years, and so on ad nauseam.

I only cite this to show the extent to which the will of one man has impressed itself upon the councils and management of the most powerful political organization in the state.

While the "Warwick" of Texas politics is a gentleman of undoubted respectability and standing, I do not doubt that a word from him is sufficient to put every little party boss on the alert and awaken the full chorus of whip crackers throughout the length and breadth of the state. And when that august word is spoken amid the noisy din that follows, the voice of reason becomes silent, and blind partisan fury rules the hour.

But it may be asked, why all this independent political action? Are not things moving along smoothly? Yes, and therein lies the danger. Everything is serene on the surface. Texas, in spite of enormous expenditures, two years of drouth and much crude legislation, has been reasonably prosperous, mainly because her expanding resources have from year to year run her taxable values above her disbursements and enabled her to accumulate a surplus revenue. Thus the people's representatives have been enabled to reduce the rate of taxation and make large appropriations in behalf of the public charities. Meanwhile, the demand for railroad regulation has been met by the usual platitudes doled out in executive messages, a strong under-current of opposition to the homestead exemption has set in with the influx of farm-mortgaging capital, and the principle of moderate state taxation for school purposes, it is

plain to see, is threatened with destruction. Even the governor perceives the "idea of paternalism" involved in this method of providing for public instruction, and, in his message to the late special session of the legislature, expresses it as his "own view," that the state "will finally be compelled to content itself with the preservation, collection and distribution of the annual income derived from its permanent fund among the several counties according to scholastic population, and leave to the counties and smaller subdivisions the entire matter of school regulation and maintenance by local taxation." Whereupon, I have no doubt, that every bank president and railroad magnate in the state, and every non-resident land holder silently but fervently ejaculated, amen! When our traditional policy of supporting public schools in part at least by a small ad valorem state tax shall be abandoned, when the homestead exemption shall be forced out of the constitution or greatly modified by the influence of banking associations, and when the railroads shall, for the want of a vigorous, manly and not illiberal policy of regulation and restraint, consolidate their power and rivet monopoly upon the people of Texas as they have done long ago in other states, then money and the machine will be masters of the situation. But why pursue this subject further! The hour has struck for the work of emancipation to begin. Better let it commence now, while free thought is circulating in the political atmosphere, and a spirit of manly independence is burning in the breasts of honest thousands.

I trust you will pardon the length at which I have written, and I beg you to believe that I greatly appreciate the honor conferred on me by the convention, and regret that I cannot comply with the wishes of so honest and patriotic a body. Rejoicing, however, that in heading the ticket with the names of Jones and Broiles, it has presented candidates eminently worthy of support by honest and intelligent citizens of all classes, I am, my dear sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

T. L. NUGENT.



## UNFINISHED MANUSCRIPT.

Jefferson, in stating his "principles" in his inaugural address, mentioned as one of them "the encouragement of agriculture and of commerce, its handmaid." It was a favorite notion of this great man and of his associates in the work of establishing free government that, in an independent yeomanry, the nation would find the chief support in its prosperity, in peace, and its bulwark of defence, in time of war.

This belief, sufficiently justified by all the history and traditions of our race, received a thousand-fold corroboration from Mr. Jefferson's own observation and experience. The sturdy farmers of his day carried the war for freedom to a successful issue, and, when the tide of civil strife receded, turned with unflinching fortitude to the double task of developing the resources of a continent and establishing free institutions on an enduring basis. Those eventful days, and all the days of our country's history to the present, have demonstrated the fact that our agricultural classes constitute the great conservative force in our social and political system. Slow-moving, steady, industrious and patriotic, the agriculturist has resisted all changes in the existing order of things, seemingly determined to endure any hard lot that might be cast upon him rather than hazard the chances of reform striking at the roots of existing evils. When his foot was first planted upon American soil, he saw before him a continent of boundless resources—a vast storehouse of undeveloped wealth inviting the exertion of his labor and filling his mind with visions of home and plenty. With steadfast purpose he pushed into the unexplored wilderness, and soon the evidences of his thrift and energy could be seen on every hand. Population increased, enterprises grew up, towns and cities sprang into existence, and the agriculturist stood forth recognized and honored as the most important factor in the pro-

duction of the universal prosperity. He was the producer of crude wealth from which prosperity came to all. The fruits of his labor, passing into indefinitely varied and multiplied forms of wealth, and thus distributed through all the avenues of trade and commerce, were easily seen to vitalize and sustain the vast and growing industrial system of the new world. He saw the incoming tide of immigration, the hordes of land speculators sweeping over the country. He witnessed the development of the railroad and telegraph, bringing his unpretentious home into communication with the growing and thriving marts of trade; and he rejoiced, even exulted in the prospect of growing rich by the enhancement of land values. His children grew up around him, passed through the crude curriculum of "the old field school," and, at first, settled on subdivisions of the "home tract" or on easily acquired cheap lands in the neighborhood.

But, as increasing population and a complex civilization augmented land values, such provisions for settling off the children as they grew to manhood and womanhood became more difficult. But was there not an illimitable west? That at least could never be crowded; and so, as the years came and went, the boys, as they reached manhood's estate, began to vanish from beneath the parental roof to seek their fortunes in the mysterious and fascinating west. Still, the agriculturist in his eastern home, his bosom swelling with patriotic ardor and never dreaming that his beloved America could ever cease to be the asylum for the oppressed of every land, continued to invite the stranger to our shores—singing in the old, patriotic, exultant way, "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give them all a farm." But the civil war came, and with it the messenger of death to every household. Through the old revolution the agriculturist had carried the country safely; for more than fifty years of almost unbroken peace he had given to that country, by his honest toil, the materials out of which to construct the most marvelous industrial fabric the world had ever looked upon, and now, when the war drums began to beat again, on both sides of the line, at what he deemed the call of duty, he rushed with dauntless heroism into the thickest of the fight.



With the close of the war, we find the agriculturist again on the old farm—again producing wealth for the nation; but now, after the lapse of thirty years, he is strangely agitated. This patient, plodding, honest citizen who, for a hundred years or more, has been immovable in his stolid conservatism, is now heading the moving column of reform, demanding changes of the most radical character in our national policy. He presses into all our public meetings, is an active participant in party conventions and exhibits an absorbing interest in political questions. Nay, more, he has developed into a reading, thinking man. He is an orator as well; and his rude and touching eloquence, powerful in its intense earnestness, pouring forth indignant protests against wrongs endured by his class, is stirring the hearts of the plain people as nothing has ever done before.

What is the cause of this stupendous change? There is a cause somewhere, and it behooves us to search it out with honest diligence that we may help and not hinder these brave and patriotic citizens. For the farmer, slow to take the first step, moves when he does start with immense momentum. The pressure of evil conditions is upon him. It is the burden of the ages, though he does not know it. After so long a time the burden has grown to be heavy. His bent form has straightened up from the plow handles. He thinks he has found out the cause of his suffering. He is now erect, walking the earth like an honest freeman, standing in the assembly of the people, exulting in his new found intellectual power. He is passing through the first stages of his great movement—those of reason and discussion. Happy for the country if his wrongs are righted before this stage is passed. . . . This man means you no harm; he would die for your right; turn to him a friendly side; listen to his complaints; help him to a remedy.

I wish to uncover the cause, or rather the causes, of all this sore distress among our farming classes, and to discuss the question of remedies.

Col. L. L. Polk declared, before the U. S. Senate committee on Agriculture, that "in 1850 the farmers of the United States

owned 70 per cent of the total wealth of the country," that "in 1860 they owned one-half of the wealth of the country," in 1880 "one-third of the total wealth of the country," and "in 1889 one-fourth of the wealth of the country." This, in a general way, states the condition of the agriculturists of the country as indicated by their degree of participation in the aggregate wealth production of the country for the past forty years or more.

But the bulletins sent out from the census bureau afford conclusive evidence that Col. Polk did not overstate the case. The states of Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and North Carolina contain 486,040 square miles of land and are the states upon which the country chiefly depends "for the production of meat, grain, dairy products, sugar, tobacco, cotton, rice," etc. Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, and the two states of New York and Pennsylvania contain 168,665 square miles of land—but little more than half the aggregate area of the nine states first mentioned. In 1880 the population of the four northern and five southern states amounts to 13,409,167, while that of the nine eastern states mentioned amounts to 14,507,407. Now, while the nine northern and southern states gained in wealth from 1880 but \$559,441,974, the nine eastern states gained in the same period \$3,054,762,722—"more than five to one." A comparison of the same nine northern and southern states with the single state of Massachusetts discloses the fact, that the latter gained in wealth during the same period nearly ten million dollars more than the aggregate gain in wealth of all the former. Yet Massachusetts in 1880 had a population of only 1,783,085 as compared with an aggregate population of 13,409,167 in the nine states mentioned, and an assessed valuation of \$1,584,756,802 as against an assessed valuation of the nine states of \$2,792,919,155. Thus Massachusetts, with about one-fifty eighth the land, one-seventh the population, and but little more than one-half the assessed valuation, in 1880, has in ten years exceeded these nine great agricultural states in wealth production by about ten millions of dollars!

Now take the same nine States, with Kentucky, Florida and

Kansas thrown in, making twelve States in all, and compare them with Pennsylvania. Those twelve States have an area of 667,100 square miles. In 1880 their population was 16,323,441, and they had in that year an aggregate valuation of \$3,335,313,124. Pennsylvania has an area of 45,215 square miles. In 1880 her population was 4,282,891, and her assessed valuation \$1,683,459,016. Yet the twelve States in ten years gained in wealth \$897,184,160, while Pennsylvania gained \$909,382,016. Now take these same twelve States, with Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia added, making fifteen in all, and compare them with New York alone. The fifteen States have an area of 776,480 square miles. New York alone has 49,170. The fifteen in 1880 contained a population of 19,996,827. New York had 5,082,871. The fifteen had an aggregate assessed valuation, in 1880, of \$3,995,169,502. New York, a valuation of \$2,651,940,000. The fifteen, in ten years, gained in wealth \$1,117,188,213; New York gained \$1,123,385,982—that is, one State gained six million dollars more than fifteen States. Now compare the nine North Atlantic States, viz., Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with the following twenty-one great producing States Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. The twenty-one States contain 985,635 square miles of territory; the nine, 168,665. In 1880, the twenty-one had an assessed valuation of \$6,839,554,628, and the nine had \$7,559,928,915. The twenty-one gained in ten years \$1,698,195,657, and the nine, \$3,054,762,722—that is to say, the gain in wealth of the nine nearly doubled that of the twenty-one. Thus fifty-six per cent. of the total population of the country had obtained twenty-three per cent. of the total wealth gain. But this is not all. The census bulletins show, that the population, in 1890, of 17,401,545, the nine North Atlantic States had 31,143 paupers, or 1,790 for each million of population, 14,477 convicts, or 832, for each million of population, 6,746 prisoners in jails. or 389

for each million of population, and 7,338 infants in juvenile reformatories, or 425 per million of population; while the twenty-one producing States, with 34,071,221 people, had 33,069 paupers, or 970 to the million, 21,146 convicts in penitentiaries, or to each million 1,611; 8,747 prisoners in county jails or 256 to the million, and 5,345 infants in juvenile reformatories, or 158 to each million. To show the contrast more plainly, these statistics are reduced to the following form:

## POPULATION.

The 21 states in 1890 had.....	34,071,221
The 9 states in 1890 had.....	17,401,545

## PAUPERS.

The 21 states in 1890 had.....	33,069
The 9 states in 1890 had.....	31,143

## CONVICTS IN PENITENTIARIES.

The 21 states in 1890 had.....	21,146
The 9 states in 1890 had.....	14,477

## PRISONERS IN COUNTY JAILS.

The 21 states in 1890 had .....	8,747
The 9 states in 1890 had.....	6,764

## INFANTS IN JUVENILE REFORMATORIES.

The 21 states in 1890 had.....	5,345
The 9 states in 1890 had.....	7,388

And yet these 21 states show a gain in population during the ten years mentioned (from 1880 to 1890) of 5,828,299, while the 9 states gained only 2,894,138.

The three states, New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, have of the entire population 21 per cent; of the aggregate wealth gain from 1880 to 1890, 35 per cent; of the total paupers in almshouses, 32 per cent; of the total convicts in penitentiaries, 27 per cent; of the total prisoners in county jails, 24 per cent; and of the total inmates of Juvenile Reformatories, 37 per cent. New York alone, the wealthiest state in the union and with the greatest wealth gain, shows the greatest number and proportion of convicts. It is easily seen from this, that the great producing states of the union from which the

nation derives its food and clothing, are at a great disadvantage from some cause; and, if the production of wealth affords the test by which to measure the prosperity of a country, then the nine states with inferior natural resources are now enjoying a degree of prosperity far transcending anything realized or likely to be realized in the 21 states whose natural resources greatly exceed those of any portion of the civilized world. And these figures show further, that where the proportional wealth gain has been greatest, there also is the greatest proportional increase of the dangerous, vicious and unfortunate classes.

"Ill fares the land to threatening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

The statistics also show that the proportional gain in wealth in the great lumber district of the North West has largely exceeded that in the great producing district of 21 states; for, while the latter has secured 56 per cent of the gain in population and 23 per cent of the gain in wealth, the former (lumber region) has obtained 7 per cent of the gain in population and 12 per cent of the gain in wealth. Is it not clear from all of these figures, that the agricultural classes do not find, in the great vocation to which they have devoted themselves, that participation in the general prosperity, which they have a right to expect? But while, in respect to the acquisition of permanent wealth, they are far behind other more favored classes, they are no better off when regarded from the standpoint of the usual income derived from their business; for the general decline in prices throughout the United States since the era of construction commenced, has fallen upon them with almost crushing effect. The *New York Tribune*, a few years since, by a comparison of quotations of 200 articles entering into general consumption, proved beyond question the great decline in prices from Nov. 1, 1865, to the close of the year 1885. The following language occurs in the *Tribune* article:

"It is not only clear from this comparison, that the prices in 1885 have been the lowest in our history for twenty-five years, but there has been a general tendency toward lower prices. From 1866 to 1871 and again from 1872 until 1878, and again

from 1882 until 1885, prices fell quite steadily. Indeed, had not the short crop of 1881 caused a temporary advance in the Spring of 1882, the range of January, 1880, would have been the highest of the later period, and it might have been said that the present era of declining prices had continued with little intermission for six years. None will fail to observe how swift and sharp the advances have been, about 12 per cent from Nov., 1871, to May, 1875, and 25 and one-half per cent. from October, 1878 to January, 1880. But these spasmodic advances, by which the general tendency downward is interrupted, only serve to make it more clear that prices have been tending irresistibly to a lower level than that of 1860, not only during the period of paper depreciation, but since gold has been the measure of value."

The report of the Commissoiner of Agriculture for 1878 uses the following language with respect to the corn crop :

"The average price paid by the farmer has fallen off two-thirds in fifteen years, being 99.7 cents per bushel in 1867 and 31.8 cents in 1878. The last named crop, though greater by 46,000,000 bushels than its predecessor, fell short of it \$39,000,000 in aggregate value. The aggregate value of each acre's yield has fallen to the unprecedented low figure of \$8.55 in 1878; in 1864 it amounted to \$30.64. The last named year was one of extreme money inflation."

In 1870 every acre of wheat brought.....\$22.76

In 1890 every acre of wheat brought..... 8.60

Loss per acre.....\$14.16

In 1870 every acre of corn brought.....\$17.75

In 1890 every acre of corn brought..... 7.63

Loss per acre.....\$10.12

In like manner it may be shown that from 1870 to 1890 there was a loss on every acre of rye of \$12.17 ; on every acre of oats of \$9.76 ; on every acre of barley of \$12.57 ; and on every acre buckwheat of \$10.75.

In 1890 the farmers produced wealth to the value of . . .	\$2,213,402,554
In 1890 the manufacturers produced wealth to the value of . . . . .	4,232,325,442
In 1890 the miners produced wealth to the value of . . .	3,319,575,443

Total wealth produced . . . . .	<u>\$9,765,203,449</u>
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The farmers have invested in land, etc. . . . .	\$14,246,070,391
The manufacturers have invested in land, etc. . . . .	2,790,272,000

From this it may be seen that the products of each farmer are worth \$365.00—strikingly suggestive of \$1.00 per day—while the products of each manufacturer are worth \$4,000.00 ; and further, that the farmer, with more than five times the amount of capital invested, makes less than one-tenth of the income of the manufacturer.

THOMAS L. NUGENT.





## JUDGE NUGENT'S LETTER TO THE MERCURY.

## WITHDRAWING FROM THE RACE FOR GOVERNOR.

FORT WORTH, Texas, Nov. 28, 1895.

EDITOR MERCURY:

*Dear Sir*—Twice have I made the race for Governor in response to the demand of the People's Party. I yielded to this demand under an imperative sense of duty to the plain and honest people whose confidence has been so largely and generously given to me. No man was ever more indebted to his friends than I am, and no man, I dare say, would more gladly make sacrifices to serve his friends than myself. But political leadership ought to contemplate something higher than service to friends. There is the service of country, of the cause of humanity, which should command the first attention of him who consents to take upon himself the burdens and responsibilities of candidacy for high office. That I might aid in some degree in quickening the public thought and conscience, so that honest and humane men might be brought to see as with open eyes the social injustice which puts unnatural burdens upon the thrift and industry of the country; that I might be able to show how poverty might be banished from our social system and comfort and happiness brought to the door of every industrious man; and that I might by means of the opportunities afforded by political discussions be able to point out the remedies which alone can bring about these conditions, constituted with me the only excuse or justification for entering the field of politics. Possibly I hoped for too much. If so, my only excuse is, that many years of study and reflection had so aroused my sense of the wrong heaped upon the humbler

classes of our citizens, that I seemed incessantly to hear their cries of distress, and was thus impelled to attempt more than my physical strength or the occasion justified. Be that as it may, I have reached the limit beyond which I cannot now go, and my duty to the noble men who have supported me so steadfastly in the past, and who have given me unmistakable evidence of a desire to support me in the future, requires that I announce my complete withdrawal from politics. My broken health demands this course. I have no doubt that I shall regain my accustomed health and strength in due time, but it seems to me, that with respect to my attitude in the coming campaign, nothing ought to be left in a state of uncertainty. Besides, I must for several months to come have rest—rest particularly from the excitements and burdens inseparable from participation in political work. This is the price I must pay for my life. But in taking this step, I wish to say to the reformers of Texas, that I shall carry in my heart always the deepest sympathy and affection for them, and gratefully remember the unwavering support which, from my entrance into political life until now, they have given me.

T. L. NUGENT.

## LETTERS.

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### EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, MARCH 11, 1873.

. . . You ask me what church I attend. I answer, all the churches alike. Swedenborg has taught me to see more clearly than ever how scriptural is the doctrine which my parents taught me, that no church was exclusively the key to Heaven, and that all must finally enter the Lord's kingdom who live in the love and practice of the truth. I, therefore, am pretty much at home with all the denominations, since I am fully instructed in the blessed truths which enable me to sift the "chaff from the wheat." If others err I have no right to quarrel with them, though I may deplore their errors. The New Church, viewed from the standpoint of Swedenborg, is not in spirit a church of controversy and disputation, but a church in which the Lord Jesus Christ is loved and worshiped as the only true and living God, and in which charity and good works form the cement that binds and unites the brotherhood into the subject of Swedenborgianism. Indeed, my first convictions grow stronger every day.

I would by all means, if I were you, avoid becoming exclusive in my views of theology. By this I do not mean that you should be too reckless in your thinking; nor would I willingly urge you to change your theological views. These are matters with reference to which every one should indulge his own honest inclination. For my part, I began to doubt Methodistic teachings many years before I heard of Swedenborg, and my final adoption of New Church theology was the result of long-continued, anxious and earnest inquiry. You may rest satisfied of one thing; we are on the eve of a

crisis in religious matters, and the admonition from on high will come to you, as well as to all other earnest men. Be prepared to obey the divine voice when it speaks to your heart, without regard to your preconceptions of theology. Hold yourself so loosely bound to any given church, that when God calls you away from it, you can stand aloof without too much torture to your heart. All things, churches included, are ordained for ends of use; when the use is accomplished, the mere external forms are then in a condition to crumble to decay. . . .

. . . . I much prefer to know that men are keeping themselves "unspotted from the world," and *doing good*. Good principles implanted in the heart, and ultimating themselves in the practical charities of life, furnish to my mind the best basis upon which to predicate a hope for human salvation. I have grown somewhat suspicious of much of the preaching I hear. It falls dull and lifeless upon my ear, and in many cases has very much the sound of theological "cymbals." When I know that the widow's heart has been comforted, the orphan's tear dried, and the pillow of the sick man smoothed and softened, I feel that God is present in the world carrying on to a blessed consummation his wise and beneficent purposes. This is the theology of love, however, and it has but little show while the religious interests of society are committed to clashing creeds and warring sects. Yet, out of all of this confusion and discord, God will evoke good, and as I suggested, I am firmly impressed with the belief that the time is rapidly approaching when some decisive work will be done in this direction. May God keep you faithful to your appointed use, and hold you ready to answer his Divine call.

Your affectionate brother,

T. L. NUGENT.

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EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, SEPT. 16, 1873.

*Dear Brother*—Your letter of the 5th inst. reached me only a few moments since. The intelligence it conveyed

of our dear mother's departure to the other world, would, as you would say, have been overpowering, if it did not bring with it the consolation of knowing that death has released her from her sufferings here and transported her to her reward in Heaven. It has been to me a source of deep and painful regret that during her protracted sufferings, circumstances prevented me from seeking her bedside and ministering to her consolation. But it is inexpressibly comforting to me to know that though precluded from discharging this last filial duty, yet the love which cherished me in infancy and guided my faltering footsteps through the perilous periods of my youth, suffered no abatement in death, but will survive in the other world to enhance the joys of a reunion with my dear old mother where no harrowing separations can ever come. Our *unequaled* parents have done their work well; they leave to us, their sorrowing children, what is more to be prized than silver or gold—the example of well spent lives. . . .

. . . How ardent should be our gratitude and how firm our resolution to do good, when we reflect that through all the difficult and trying years of the past, the lives of our parents were one long, continued sacrifice freely offered up for the welfare of their children. . . .

(Still, pursuing his religious views, he adds:)

Indeed, my convictions on this subject have, during the past few years, become fully settled and fixed. Christianity is to-day more attractive, more glorious and more comforting to me than it was ten years ago. I am aware that you do not sympathize with many views, which through much travail of soul I have been led to adopt. But it is a truth, nevertheless, that the doctrine of our Savior, and the extent and efficacy of his atonement, have presented themselves to my mind, through the system I have embraced, with greatly enhanced value. I have such a realizing sense of the nearness of the other world that at times, when heavenly meditations fill my mind and the sweet songs of Zion give expression to my emotions, I almost fancy I can hear the musical voices of the invisible ones, and see the loving presence of some guardian angel. Ah, dear brother, these views make me a better man and enlarge my

desires, and quicken my aspirations for heaven. I exult in the thought that when death tears away the curtain and ushers me into that world of realities, I will leave behind me forever the obscurities and clogs of this existence and pursue my own proper use in the unimpaired exercise of all my faculties. And, oh, what joy, when to this is added the thought that all my ways will then be unerringly directed by the fatherly care and love of God—that no false direction of my conduct will ever supervene to add the pangs of remorse to my existence!

THOMAS L. NUGENT.

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EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, FEB. 9, 1881.

. . . By a divine, spiritual law, whatever we *love* we *do*, and by doing what we *love* we learn to love it all the more. Naturally our sensual natures incline us to love evil; by *doing* evil, therefore, our love becomes, so to speak, *embodied in it*, and evil is thus implanted in and becomes a part of the life. Indeed, the *love* of a man *is* his life, and the human being is ever seeking to embody his love in external forms of his own creation. Hence, in a very striking and truthful sense, the history of a man is only the external history of love—the statement of those modes of action in which his love has found ultimate embodiment and expression. Now, God implants in the interior life of a man a prompting to do good, and, providentially, gives him every moment of his existence, the capacity or power to carry this prompting into external action. But this capacity or power, when set in motion, must remove obstructing evils in the “carnal mind,” before it can become crystallized in the external life. To remove those evils, man must learn to know that they are evils, and this knowledge he acquires by the “word” which has been “spoken” to us. By means of the atonement, God has established such relations with man that the latter is always in possession of the power to obey; by the written Word man may know *how* to obey. Hence it is that by Christ, or the power and knowledge derived from

Him, we may conquer the sensual nature and give full effect to the law of the "inward man." St. Paul saw all this when he said, "I delight in the law of God after the inward man, but I see another law in my members warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, *which is in my members*. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? *I thank God through Jesus Christ, our Lord.*" This is immediately succeeded by that chapter that begins, "There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who *walk* not after the flesh but after the spirit." By *walking* after the spirit, I understand obeying the Divine commandment in the law of the spirit. What, therefore, is the sum of the whole matter? It is this, simply and only this: Let him who would make his way to Heaven learn, in the light of the Divine Word, to know his evils and then let him shun those evils as sins against the Lord, always trusting in the Lord and invoking His Divine assistance, and always recognizing the fact that the power to do this is the gift of God, and thus of pure grace. Man, left to himself, would inevitably plunge into hell; co-operating with and trusting in God, he may by grace ascend to the highest Heaven. But I did not intend writing at such length. I love these blessed truths, and often feel a consuming desire to give them to others; since I know they come to every man who receives them in the right spirit and puts them into practice, freighted with blessedness and immortality.

May God bless you, my dear brother, and lead you always in the true and right way. . . .

Your devoted brother,

T. L. NUGENT.

P. S. My wife sends her love to you all. She is with me in my views of the truth, and together we are trying to do the Lord's work. My daughter, Emma, says also to give you her love.

T. L. N.

## EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, JAN. 2, 1883.

Discussing the ministry, he says :

“ There is a class who have caught the Divine inspiration, among whom charity is more than faith, and the life more than dogma. These love humanity more than the church because their souls sympathize with the oppressed and toiling men and women around them ; and entering into such sympathy, they feel but lightly the mere creed or church. Of course for such preachers, men and women of the more earnest and unselfish sort have a most cordial fellow-feeling, and this it is that makes them successful in spite of the church—successful in earning a support and in the far nobler work of serving God in serving humanity. I trust you will ever seek to make such a preacher. Beware of becoming an ecclesiastic—let freedom and rationality combine with love for Christ and humanity to shape and mould your character and life. To be *churchly wise* only is to draw a thick veil over the interior nature—to shut it off from the light of heaven which is the light of real truth. The “ hateful ecclesiastical proprium,” as one has justly called it—that is, the individual *selfhood* which the love of church rules—has been in all time and is yet the great enemy of humanity, the unrelenting foe of science, philosophy and true religion. It has given rise to the clannishness of the churches and church members—the stupid conceit which makes them impervious to all reason and too often to all genuine charity. This clannishness springs from the unconscious and deadly persuasion that one’s creed is the final expression of Divine truth, and that one’s church is the perfect embodiment of Divine providence, the scheme of schemes for human salvation. Alas! it too often simulates true charity in the exterior, while its baleful fantasies hide the interior depravity of the heart from conscious recognition. Until one breaks through the delusions which it spreads over the heart and mind, he can never be brought to realize the depth of his inbred depravity. Then only can he be brought to perceive and feel that he is a brother to harlots and murderers and thieves. Then only can he understand why the Lord had such a fellow-feeling for “ publicans and sinners.” Look abroad over the



face of humanity<sup>b</sup> and learn to realize that your mission is not only to preach to those who pay quarterage and crowd the temple of worship, but as well to the debased, the lame, the blind who slink away from sight in the world's dark alleys and corners. Cultivate, in other words, the sentiment of humanity, and thus will your mind enlarge to embrace the truth of humanity, which is the truth of God.

Ever since Adam fell,—that is since man receded from the spiritual into the natural and became immersed in the sensual and external—God has been moving down to his low plane to reach and save him. Thus, in the fullness of time, Divine evolution produced the miracle of the incarnation—God revealed by fleshly assumption in the sphere of man's ultimate nature. Thus God has put on humanity—clothed Himself with it, and thus by His spirit, or emanating sphere of operation, He is enabled to quicken and save humanity. Thus the Divine Logos in the person of Christ becomes the *Divine Natural* Humanity, and the humanized spirit of God pours its regenerating streams of love and grace into the centers of man's thought and affection. For you must know that the "holy ghost was not given" during Christ's natural or earthly life, because "Jesus was not yet glorified." The merely natural personality (Jesus Christ) must be glorified, that is made Divine, before the Divine Spirit could be evolved into the sphere of human life. This, dear brother, is the truth of truths—the central arcanum, the ineffable mystery of Godliness. To master it in all its transcendent significance is to know the whole of Christianity, and, to enter by experience into its deep, practical sequences, one must of necessity enter into that larger love and sympathy for humanity which no earth-born Church can ever give. May your soul take in the sublime truth more and more as your work advances, until, like a Divine rainbow, it shall irradiate your whole intellectual horizon.

You ask if my wife is a Methodist. She was *once*, but she has for years believed as I do. Together we have been seeking to do the Lord's will—to love him above all things, and to carry that love down into practical life by serving our fellow creatures as we have opportunity. With each other we are

satisfied—only praying that God may enable us while in the flesh to lovingly join our hearts and hands in the work of doing good to others, as we are surely happy in serving and loving each other. . . .

. . . . Your namesake is a splendid boy. My wife says she can vouch for his making a first class man, and when she says this, she almost always adds, "He looks like you," (me). Of course she loves to flatter me a little; but isn't it better so?

I sincerely hope that Divine Providence may bring us together before we pass to the other side. Let us both hope that it may come about. . . .

Your boy has a practical way of looking at the vocation of a preacher.

(NOTE —The boy had said he did not want to be a preacher because they never had an money.)

His idea that preachers have no money, if not original, is at least borne out by general observation and experience. Let us hope, however, that if he does become a preacher, he may be one of the exceptions. . . .

. . . . After all "God takes little count of our petty limitations," says one, and I do not doubt that in the end many of the theatre-going Episcopalians will be found to have possessed the saving principle of charity. One cannot judge of interior qualities from the mere surface life, and I have little doubt that, as a rule, confirmation in the Episcopal Church means fully as much as conversion in the Methodist. Both signify but little in themselves. God does not limit his divine operation to either method; but "gives to all men freely," whether in or out of the churches. In so far as men receive him, by receiving into their hearts the love of helping others to useful and better lives, they are accepted of him, even though they never rent a church pew, or rend the heavens with camp-meeting songs:

I am now at home, enjoying my two month's vacation with my family. I read to my wife, look after my stock and farm, and have my daughters to enliven the family circle every day with music. Both of my girls perform well on the piano. Thus you see, I am leading quite a peaceful life just now.

My wife and I do not attend church, but have good reading,

and enjoy our privileges in that way more highly than preaching, though we are not inclined to deprive those of the latter who get help or comfort from it.

Your affectionate brother,

T. L. NUGENT.

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STEPHENVILLE, ERATH CO., TEXAS, Jan. 2, 1884.

*My Dear Brother:*

Your long letter of 26th ult. was received on yesterday evening and has been read again and again with pleasure and satisfaction—and yet with a degree of pain. My brief postal had no reference to Methodism specially, but to the Church generally—the *institutional* Christianity of our times. Indeed, even with ecclesiasticism I have no *quarrel*; since reaching my *present* plane of belief, I have come more fully into the truth that the light of heaven is but dimmed by controversy and one's perception of spiritual things only darkened by discussion. In the quiet thoughtfulness of the soul alone can we see the truth in its human relation; and even then it will dwindle into thin intellectuality unless we carry it into human activities. It is not difficult to *think* ourselves into the great race-heart, but it becomes a crucifixion when we throw ourselves into the rushing current of actual life and endeavor to break with our poor fellow-man the bread which the Lord so freely gives to us—particularly when our bread is so apt to be called a stone. This opening of the soul Godward and manward at the same time—this receiving from above only that we may send forth what we get in loving benefactions to our kind—requires something more than Church, or Creed, or Sacrament. Above all, it requires a heart thoroughly honest with itself, with God and the fellow-man. Few of us can stand up in pure, heaven-born manhood and say, meaning fully what we say: “Here, Lord, am I. Take me, fill my heart with thy spirit and my brain with thy truth, and use me, oh! use me as thou wilt in human service.” Is it not true that most of us would shrink when the Divine voice bade us seek the vilest and lowest, whom even the

churches pass by, in our efforts to uplift and save? Is it not true, that when society frowns, the churches slink away in abject cowardice? Now mark you, I do not deny that the churches, one and all, are doing in the main a good work for vast multitudes of men. Mahomedanism destroyed idolatry in a large portion of the East; and Methodism, in directing the love and worship of its votaries to Jesus and insisting on the surrender of the human to the Divine will, has been the means of giving to the world its nearest approach to the Divine ideal of worship and service—that is, the nearest possible under orthodox forms. Again, many loving hearts in all the churches are agonizing in spirit over God's fallen human creatures, and seeking by devoted lives to reclaim and save them. But this only proves that God is working in the churches, or in receptive natures within the churches. It does not show that the churches are good for me, or that my duty takes me to them to find my way to the human world around me. If I can reach men as I am, and better as I am, and hear no Divine voice calling me to a church, why should I not remain as I am? I do not discredit the churches or their work. They are good to others on their plane. I do not "invalidate" the experience of their members—that is, of those of them who *have* experience. Often while trying causes in the Court room, listening to "weary lawyers with endless tongues" until the wrangling seems akin to that "weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth" we read of—the sphere of the Lord envelops me, and I *know* of the Heavenly presence which loves to manifest itself in the places, all the places, where duty seeks embodiment in human service. Can I, to whom God reveals himself thus lovingly,—unworthy, undeserving I,—invalidate the "experiences" of our dear mother, whose grand, though humble life, I reverently worship, and whose devotion to duty was a better proof of the divinity of Christianity than even her experience—better in the degree in which it more fully authenticated the claims of Christianity to the actual apprehension of others? No, I value *experience* above creed or Church; but I only claim for myself the right to stand aloof from organizations, that nothing may be between me and such human work as God may in my

humble sphere give me—to look in the open face of truth, and not be compelled to contemplate her ineffable beauty and glory through the veils which institutions and dogmas throw around her. No, I had rather have *one* open and free vision of the truth, than to *partially* see her for a *whole life time* through the dogmatics of any Church—Methodist, Presbyterian, Swedenborgian, or what not.

The important thing is to be honest—always honest and sincere. Intellectually we cannot all see alike. We are, I trust, all advancing in a measure. What we regard as truth to-day may seem but fantasy to-morrow: “*Partial truth* is inferential falsity.” A germ of truth is dropped into the human understanding. Our warped and perverted natures begin to reason about it, to sift, to analyze it. Pretty soon it grows into a plant, whose leaves and fruit may, indeed, nourish and sustain many, but they will at the same time sustain the evil with the good; and when its law of reproduction has operated through many generations of plants, the original germ can hardly be known from leaf and bough that spread themselves to the sun. So Christ dropped his truth into obedient, loving spirits—the germ truth. It has carried the world—the human world—upward in the long spiritual evolution. State after state has been unfolded; church after church has arisen and passed away; but the spiritual evolution has never ceased. What our forefathers believed in and died for we repudiate and deny. So those coming after us may smile at our credulity, or wonder at our ignorance. Thus in the present day some believe Swedenborg, some Wesley, some Campbell, some Calvin, etc. Each occupies his own plane and cannot by any long stride reach another. He must slowly thread his way, through perilous quicksands, it may be, but his true place will be reached just as he is pressed forward by God’s Divine law of evolution, operating in strict harmony with his free agency. We cannot force ourselves forward; we must only follow the light as it is given to the slow-opening but darkened human understanding. Thus each in his place has partial truth, each has inferential falsehood—all must finally occupy common ground and share in a common life when evolution has reached its climax and

God's purpose stands finally revealed. Just now the plant of Christianity but poorly reveals the germ from which it grew—that is, reveals it to *us*. The Lord, however, sees it; and while the fruiting is often bitter and unsavory, the dead limbs will fall before the Divine pruning knife, and that germ will stand fully revealed in the final product of the ages. But to drop the figure, human falsehood will prove to be but differing phases of human development, through which Christ's word has been pressing the race to a realization of its perfect destiny—the fruition of its largest hope and its deepest aspiration.

But you don't understand the law of correspondences. No wonder. A comprehension of this law involves the understanding of the order of creation—a vast philosophy, too big for the explication which may be crowded within the limits of a letter—a philosophy utterly transcending the mere thought of the times. You have Swedenborg's "Divine Life and Wisdom?" Begin with this—it contains the Divine clue which can be followed out through other books including the one you mention, until the thought becomes luminous with wondrous light—luminous to the core. But read as a philosopher—in the spirit of the whole-souled truth-seeker—not as you would study dogmatic theology, which is killing to the philosophic spirit. Swedenborg did not repudiate the literal facts of the external history of Christ. In these he believed; but he regarded them as occupying a subordinate position. The mere grouping of them together in a narrative form was only important in so far as it served the purpose of spiritual instruction. The great object was to show God incarnated to the world of fallen men; but this must be done in such manner as to reach all, and fully unfold the laws of regeneration. Matthew takes certain facts in Christ's history and weaves them into the form of a biography—so with Mark and John. But in the arrangement of the narrative, the order and sequence of time is not always regarded; nor is there always apparent harmony in the statements of the several narrations. Each author was himself representative, and selected only such facts as served to teach the phase or degree of truth which he represented and taught. Hence the literal discrepancies which appear in the several histories are

not only unobjectionable, but they were necessary to the Divine plan. Of course, in certain statements they all of them agree; but these statements were necessarily common to the whole scheme of truth. Every statement is thus seen to be essential; while, if the literal sense is the only one, many statements would appear, to say the least, unnecessary. Assuredly that Christ "went up into the mountain to pray," if stated as a mere external fact, could not be very important to the human race. It certainly added little to the stock of human knowledge. But understood as a declaration intended to symbolize *in part* the long train of experiences through which the Son of Man was passing in the work of glorifying the humanity and thus making the salvation of men possible, it becomes altogether Divine and thus full of significance. But all this is seen and understood in the light of correspondences.

Your complaint that Swedenborg too much exalts doctrine, is not well founded; nor will it appear so when you reflect that he did not seek to found a sect, but simply to formulate and teach truth—and to do this, he simply addressed the world of thoughtful men in the spirit and formal manner of the philosopher. But it was of the essence of his plan to show men that "all religion is of the life," and that the law of use is fundamental in all of God's creation. He pursues this one plan through all of his numerous theological works, and by numberless arguments and illustrations—indeed by all of his vast philosophy, seeks to set forth this idea of *life* as the essence of all religions. So much is this the case, that he says repeatedly that those whose lives have been good readily throw off errors of belief in the other life, while the evil in life alone find it impossible to change their beliefs there. Thus the sincere Catholic, believing in the Pope, yet, because of his good life, easily receives the truth, while those who have been most enlightened here, if evil, soon immerse themselves in the most horrible fantasies, even to the utter denial of the Lord. Thus it is that in the other life, "unto him that hath shall be given and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath." But after all, can it be said that doctrine is not "*vital*?" Does not doctrine enter into

one's life and make it necessary that in the hereafter he should somehow, have his errors taken from him? If Calvinism is dishonoring to God, can it exist in heaven as a belief? Surely not; and although the good lose their errors of belief, they only do so sometimes after the divine love has taken them through the chastening of fiery discipline. Exalted experience may co-exist with the wildest phantasies of belief. Look at Fenlon and Mrs. Guyon, deemed by Wesley worthy of being held up as examples to the primitive Methodists. Do their deep spiritual experiences throw any light on popery; and does the denial of their creed invalidate their experiences? You will answer, no. So I may repudiate my mother's creed, but still do honor to her experience. But you ask, "Does Swedenborgianism make one egotistic or opinionated?" I answer yes, frequently—just as Methodism, Presbyterianism, and all other isms do. I think if I were asked where I had witnessed the coarsest and most offensive displays of egotism, I should have no hesitation in saying, in the pulpit. It is unfortunate that it is so, but the truth must be told. The ego is largely in creeds, churches and preachers; and Swedenborgians must come in for their share of the condemnation which awaits all alike for this sin. Holcombe, though devout and pious, is, I fear, to a great extent inflated. He has begun to speak and write ex-cathedra, and this always proves an open door to the corrupt and subtle human selfhood. How glad I am that the day is approaching when the Lord shall take place of teacher once more, and poor, weak men shall all alike learn to be pupils at his knee. Be assured, it is coming to this, and the happy day would come all the sooner if men, irrespective of church or creed, could only learn the divine lesson of honesty and simplicity in thought and speech. *But this lesson, fully learned and made a living reality*, involves the restoration of childhood to the man; but when childhood knocks at the human door for admittance, proprium rises to shut down the latch and bar its entrance. And as proprium, that is, the evil selfhood, is not confined to *any* church, it manifests itself quite impartially in *all*. But I must make an end to this letter. When I get on these topics, so grateful to my heart, my thought goes on spinning its threads



until I am apt to forget that others are not so deeply interested as myself. Have you ever read Geo. MacDonald's novels? They are deeply spiritual, and I have derived much comfort and many clear views of the truth from some of them. His "Robert Falconer" would delight you, and I advise you to read it if you have not already done so. I tried to get "Paul Faber, Surgeon," at our book store to send you, but it was not on hand. I intend sending it to you when it can be procured. You will find it a gem of real religious literature, exquisitely soothing and mellowing to the feelings and quickening to the thought. My wife joins me in love to you and yours.

Lovingly, your brother,

T. L. NUGENT.

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EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO HIS BROTHER, FEB, 6, 1885.

*My Dear Brother:*

Your two letters have remained unanswered a long time. When they came I was engaged in active work on the circuit, and postponed replying until my vacation commenced. When I returned home from the circuit, I found a mass of letters awaiting me, and I had to work this off my hand and take my son, Clarence, off to school before getting to your letters. Well, I have reached them at last and scarcely know now how to begin a reply—especially to the last. Many years of thought and study, both in the domain of the law and of religious literature, have taught me the inutility of speculation and developed a tendency in my mind to subject all doctrines to purely practical tests. *Use* is the law of the universe—the pivot upon which its vast operations hinge. The Master Himself had nothing of the mere theorist about Him, and while teaching "heavenly things" to the men of this world, was chiefly concerned about making His truths fruitful in good to the human creatures whom He came to "seek and save." Swedenborg touched the core of the whole matter, when he said, "All religion is of the *life*, and the life of religion is to *do good*." It

is idle to multiply theories on so simple a subject. Unselfish service of the fellow-man is of the essence of all vital piety; and the means by which Providence leads men to engage in such service are as various as the temperaments and dispositions of men themselves. It took a great light from heaven to arrest the attention of St. Paul, while the love that thrilled the breast of John as he heard the spoken word from the Lord's lips, may have sufficed to start *him* in the way of consecrated obedience. How or in what manner the Lord *first* induces the fallen creature to turn his face heavenward, is a matter that we may safely leave in the Lord's hands. It is a small fault, therefore, if fault it be, that MacDonald seems to trace the inception of the regenerate life in all his leading characters to some temporal calamity or disappointment. The important fact is, that his novels uniformly inculcate the important lesson, that regeneration grows out of a life of loyal devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ. Nor is the value of the lesson at all diminished by the fact that it does not come to us in homely, "grammar-killing" speech. Aesthetic refinement and sentiment are, to be sure, not the all of religion, but then religion need not be taught to taboo them for that reason. It is needful that we walk softly here. The forms of beauty and glory which enter so largely into the order of the visible creation and in which the Divine Majesty delights to veil His operations in outward manifestation, should warn us against too much haste in passing judgment upon the fine culture in which religious sentiment and truth blossom forth to human fruitfulness. The spiritual evolution of the race proceeds through all cultures and refinements—transcending all crude, incomplete and useless forms of thought and speech, as men through receptive and heroic natures receive and outgive the Lord's truth to their fallen fellow creatures. Thus it is that human thought is more than a century in advance of the thought of Wesley's time—it *has evolved to a higher plane.*

The pulpit, thank God, no longer resounds with boisterous maledictions; nor does the current religious literature have much to say of an eternal fire and a wrathful God. Calls to repentance sound more like the beseechings of the Father borne

in words of love to the sin-sick soul. MacDonald has caught the spirit of the new age, and seeks to give it expression in characters exhibiting the fragrance and sweetness of loving and useful lives. He takes the life and works of Christ and endeavors to show how human lives should embody them. He particularly strives to get rid of those theological misinterpretations and accommodations which rob the Lord's words of their full meaning, insisting, all the time, that those words mean what they literally import, and that their Divine significance can only be known to one who gives to them an honest and unstinted obedience. Thus in "Donald Grant" he gives us a character which strikingly illustrates how the highest type of the Christian hero can only be reached by conforming to that Divine precept, "resist not evil"—a strong, athletic man, possessing his full share of animal courage and impulse, yet submitting to be buffeted and derided by ignoble creatures, simply because the Lord so willed that he should do. When romance thus leads theology and points out the way to absolute self-surrender, even to the point of submitting to blows for righteousness' sake, do you not think we may afford to welcome the refined sentiment and culture which accompanies the sublime lesson? Now we cannot *purchase* salvation by works of merit. *Meritorious* works are not *good* works; to add voluntary submission to evil will avail us nothing, if we *depend* upon it as something *entitling* us to salvation. Hence Swedenborg constantly teaches that evils are to be shunned as *sins against the Lord*. Obey God simply *because* he commands us to obey, looking to him always for help and realizing the fact that we have no good in ourselves and cannot obtain any by any process of spiritual buying; this is the practical truth underlying the philosophy of redemption. Loyal and faithful service is what the Lord seeks from His creatures, and this any man can render, whether he ever have an experience or not. It is not experience of the witnessing spirit that saves, but the Divine word literally and honestly applied to the life and obeyed. The fault of Methodism consists in the fact that it makes salvation to depend on an *experience*, and by logical implication remands ninety-nine hundredths of the human beings on this

globe over to the uncovenanted mercies of God. To be sure, it is said of the Gentiles who follow the flickering light of their untaught consciences, that they "having not the law are a law unto themselves:" but it is poor logic that does not enable one to apprehend the fallacy involved in the admission. For if regeneration is a single act of *spiritual cleansing*, contingent upon the exercise of faith in Christ as a meritorious savior whose obedience "unto death" has satisfied the law of Divine justice, how can such regeneration grow out of conformity to merely *moral standards of doctrine which excludes Christ and his atonement altogether?* Or has God laid down one plan of salvation for the Christian and a totally different one for the heathen? If in Christendom the *moral* character, involving all social and humane virtues, cannot be depended upon for the attainment of salvation, how can such character be depended on in the pagan world? To be sure, your "orthodoxy" requires you to enter an apology right here; since, fortunately, humanity is greater than creed, and the benevolent heart will not down with its good sympathies at the behest of man's riotous and fantasy-ridden intellect.

No, my brother, regeneration is not an act of instantaneous mercy. The prayer of faith may bring an *experience* in a moment—a sweet, pervading peace that "passeth understanding," or a joy that is "unspeakable and full of glory." But the building up of a good character, the cleansing that is implied in the process of regeneration, is the slow growth of years. It is *always* attended with severe trials, combats with multiplied evils, and frequently physical and temporal afflictions. For, "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth." It is doubtless often the case, that the commencement of the new religious life dates from the sudden, happy experience of the mourner's bench; but this proves nothing. However far from the sight this great joy may, for the time, push the evil selfhood, the fierce encounter must come at last, when sin arrays its awful forces to compass the ruin of the soul thus started in the regenerate life. Henceforth for that soul there is a full measure of chastening, until it enters into rest. I am often surprised at the self-complacent assur-

ance with which some people talk of *knowing* themselves to be born again—no fear, no doubt. Yet many of these very people are no better than the average good men and women of the world, if the ordinary tests of good character be applied to them; and besides, they are often heard, in experience meetings, to talk of doubts and gloom that take away all their joy. By far the most devout and spiritual minded pastor of the Methodist Church whom we have ever had here, once told me that he had never reached a state in which he was without doubt on the question of the soul's immortality. . . . Now I do not doubt there is a state of "perfect love which casteth out all *fear*," nor do I doubt that the young convert, while the flame of his first joy is burning brightly, would yield up his life with a blessed assurance of salvation. But, while this is freely admitted, it is fatal to teach that this happiness or joy is the evidence of full salvation. It is not well to talk too much of *knowing* what one's spiritual state may be, or of knowing what future lot awaits him. The Lord certainly meant what he said—"The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou heareth the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth. So is every one that is born of the spirit." Indeed, it could not be otherwise. Note the language, "*born* of the spirit," in regeneration. The *germ* of truth received into the will and ultimated in a life of faithful obedience, grows up into the full, symmetrical christian character—the new man. This is *spiritual generation*—regeneration—the second birth.

Now, no man can know of the hidden processes by which this growth is attained—no one can judge of its varying, often subtle phases—no one but God alone. Yet it goes on day and night, with or without experience, whether joy or sorrow abound. Still I would not undervalue experience, and therefore think that all may reach that stage in the ascending religious life where peace and joy are the settled habitudes of the spirit, and where all fear is dissolved in love. The failure to teach this clearly as a present and possible privilege for all, is the cardinal defect of Swedenborgian preaching. Hence I do not regard the so-called New Church very highly. It is a small ecclesiasticism centered around a high system of spiritual philosophy, but possessing

little of the genuine inspiration of an unselfish, vital religion. I am, in other words, in *no sense* orthodox, and I am devoutly thankful that it is so. Orthodoxy throws a blight over the whole intellectual man, and precludes a normal, free evolution of the faculties. The most morbid of creatures are the devotees who yield an unquestioning obedience to church authority—or indeed, any authority but that of incarnate God.

The grossest superstitions and the most unnatural restrictions of all the ages have grown out of that “devout self-consciousness” which hierarchies have such a fatal tendency to engender—and this, my dear brother, is what effectually removes the average Christian beyond the “sphere of active human sympathies.” He becomes, alas, *a Christian and no more*. He leaves the great social reforms to the unbelievers, while isolating himself deeply in the bosom of the little coterie of church-goers among whom he finds his life’s delight. But I am not unmindful of the fact that many noble natures live above the atmosphere of their churches. In spite of church and creed, they feel their way to their kind, and unconsciously work on the line of race redemption—finding their way to God, not so much through the church as through humanity. Still, I make no war on the churches; they have had their day and done noble service for the race; chiefly through all the ages by preserving the memorials of divine truth and inducing a moral restraint upon the actions of men. Now and then, indeed, in their poverty stricken beginnings, they have entered into the woes and burdens of the suffocated race, and at such periods floods of celestial light, bringing hope for a better time have poured into this shattered world. But they have fallen into the hands of the respectable classes—worldly honor and wealth have come to them. In their sacred temples, sin and pity sit side by side, equally honored, while, to carry on their vast operations, contributions from the despoilers of labor, the usurer and the liquor dealer, are welcomed with open hands. The few really altruistic men and women, whose names are enrolled upon the church books, live pent up and measurably suppressed lives because of the evil spheres in which their lot is cast—albeit, unconsciously to themselves, they are the

exceeding hope of the world. But I will not pursue this subject further. I seldom open my mouth upon subjects of theology. Believing most sincerely that all things are rapidly tending to the close of the long, long struggle for human redemption and looking constantly for the "end," I am willing to leave all these matters to others; content to serve my fellow being when service can do him any good, and let others believe and think as they please. . . .

. . . The Lord knows all things, my heart among the rest, and I am quite willing to trust him to the end. My wife joins in love to you and yours.

Your affectionate Bro.,

T. L. NUGENT.

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#### A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

STEPHENVILLE, Erath Co., Texas.

*Dear Friend:*

Your letter and postal card came to hand some time since. The latter, as Dr. —— was not in his office, I handed to Mr. ——, who promised to see the Dr. and write you. The former I have borne in mind, hesitating yet meditating what reply to make. Even yet, I am not sure I am in a position to give you any reliable suggestion as to the course you should pursue; and the difficulty is not lessened by the fact, that I do not know whether you desire legal advice, or advice as to the spiritual aspects of your case, or both. If you desire to be advised as to your legal rights, then you must be aware, that a want of information upon which to base an opinion prevents me from saying anything which could be of any value to you. The same is true, in a measure, as to the spiritual aspects of your case. I would gladly help you if I could, but I feel myself incapable of solving difficulties of so delicate a nature. There are so many things to be taken in view, such a complication of feeling and interest, that I shrink from obtruding views that might hurt rather than help; and I should regret very deeply any injury I might do you, even though it might

spring from a motive of unselfish friendship—and so far as you are concerned, I know no other motive. And yet, as your letter invites an expression from me, or seems at least to do so, I may suggest what it occurs to me I would do if I were situated as you are.

And preliminary to this, I may indulge in a reflection or so as to the probable cause of your trouble. You know that I did not regard your matrimonial alliance with much favor. While hoping that you had found a lady in whose association your expectations of happiness might be realized, I could not but fear that you had made a mistake; not because I had any reason to believe the lady herself any worse than or different from the average good, natural woman, but rather because it seemed to me you were, by your marriage, inviting an “antagonism of spheres,” which, if Swedenborg’s teachings are true, can never fail to produce disharmony and unhappiness. Growing as you evidently have been, towards a plane of life above that of the mere natural marriage, having had your eyes open to truth, which never can flourish in the atmosphere of that religionism which confounds goodness with conformity, and the reality of spiritual life and growth with the mere seeming of a superficial moralism, I did not doubt that your venture would tax your interior nature more severely than any former experience of your life.

How could it be otherwise? How can one whose heart has been touched and awakened by the inspiration of the New Life, find comfort in an ecclesiastical circle essentially sectarian in spirit, life and usage! You did not reflect, I think, that the best natural woman, whose life and character have been shaped and moulded by many years of conformity to the dogmas and practices of a church founded wholly in the proprium, will inevitably revolt at the approach of any sphere vitalized by the liberal and genuine truths of the New Life. Now, you will pardon me for saying, I do not regard your wife as insane, nor do I think her internal character at all below the general, average character of the religious woman of the churches. I feel sure that, regarded from the standpoint of current religion, she is a good woman and withal just as rational and sane as



most other women of her class. Her apparent insanity grows out of the fact that all of the spiritual evils involved in her religious proprium are aroused and brought to the surface of her life by "antagonism of spheres;" and this may be said without reflection on you or her, since of the true cause no doubt you are both unconscious. My dear friend, you will upon reflection see, that the New Church truth can never be made to fit into any ecclesiastical garment woven by Alexander Campbell. The two systems are radically irreconcilable. They can never be forced to mix. This is particularly true when the New Church truth has partially, or wholly, taken on the form of the New Life. Of necessity, that sphere, which is at war with every earth-born institution, Church or system, can not fail to provoke hostility when brought in contact with states of life formed from present evil conditions; and it is quite apparent to me, that when such a sphere meets its opposite in the married state, a violent reaction must result, exhibiting contradictions and extravagances of speech and action every closely resembling insanity. You will no doubt, think this a rather long and unnecessary preface; but it is in a measure, a necessary explanation of my reason for saying what I do now say, that you and your wife will never, in my judgment, get along harmoniously. But I am equally satisfied that your separation has been providentially brought about for the good of both. I now proceed to tell you what I think I would do if I were in your situation. I would first, as John Wesley did under similar circumstances, write in my diary the words, "non dimisi; non revocabo," and the course thus indicated I would steadfastly pursue. In other words, I should regard the separation as final, complete and providential; and I should, for this reason, never undertake to fight against fate by any sort of patching up. In the next place, I would endeavor to come to some adjustment of the matter outside of the court. You don't want on your hands a disagreeable suit, involving charges and counter charges. Why not, then, get a mutual friend to arrange an adjustment something like this, viz: You waive all claim to your wife's property, in consideration of which let your wife dismiss her suit for divorce. At the expiration of

three years, institute suit against your wife for divorce on the ground of abandonment, prove her voluntary separation from you for three years, living apart from you with intent to abandon you permanently, all of which could be easily shown, and get your divorce without contest on her part. This is better, for many reasons, than divorce obtained after a fight in court. In the first place, the proceeding will not attract any notice. It will move on in a quiet way, the divorce will be granted, and but few will ever give the matter any attention, or cherish any recollection of it. In the next place, if your wife is able to produce any evidence of the grounds upon which she sues for divorce, the suit will be likely to go in her favor in spite of your resistance. In such suits the jury are always in sympathy with the woman, and a mere conflict of evidence will not prevent them from deciding in her favor. So that, in all probability, your wife will beat you in the suit, and the proceeding will obtain ten-fold more publicity than it can acquire if it be not contested. Besides, these suits usually go off on ex-parte hearing without contest; and the proof usually made does not extend beyond what is necessary under the law to get the decree. They attract little or no attention, and leave little or no sting behind. But there are other reasons in favor of letting the suit take care of itself besides those mentioned, which will readily occur to you: and although you may feel that you are unjustly assailed and that, therefore, you owe to yourself the duty of self-vindication, I am yet of the opinion that the wrong to which you may submit will not only be less injurious spiritually than vindication reached through the instrumentality of a judicial contest, but the smart it may leave behind will be more than offset by the release from a hundred anxieties which the course I suggest will secure. Besides, the desire for vindication is, after all, a merely selfish and worldly one; and, while I do not say it should always be set aside or suppressed, I have found that its indulgence, nine times out of ten, brings more trouble than it cures. Better leave your vindication in the hands of providence, and trust as little to human agencies for it as possible. A pure, upright life will in the long run bring its own vindication; and if it should not do so in the judgment of

the world of selfish men, the consoling reflection remains, that the good opinion of men, while not in itself undesirable, is, nevertheless, not indispensable to one's happiness. It is better to please God than men, and to stand acquitted before His law, rather than before the law of public opinion. And this truth gathers strength from the consideration, that the value of vindication is rather apparent than real, since it goes no farther, ordinarily, than to secure us the favorable judgment of our fellows, which in most cases brings rather spiritual loss than gain. But I must bring this letter to a close. Writing from this distance, you must bear in mind that I may, in want of full information, "miss the mark" completely. If, therefore, what I have written fills the bill, ascribe the fact to a fortunate guess—or to providence.

My wife joins in kind regards. Hoping that providence may afford you all the light you need, I am

Your friend,

T. L. NUGENT.

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#### EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO HIS WIFE.

##### NOTE.

I boarded in Judge Nugent's family from the fall of 1888 to the spring of 1890, and have been much with them since. I was always treated as one of the family and, being honored with confidence, had every opportunity of knowing the conditions of his home life. It seems to me that his marriage was so much a true marriage as to be ideal, if what is real can be said to be ideal. No one who knew both Judge Nugent and his wife can doubt that in their sympathies, their affections, their aspirations, and in their endeavors to do good and to reach a higher life, they were as one. There was perfect trust and confidence, perfect love between them.

Judge Nugent was a gentleman by nature as well as breeding. He never failed to pay his wife, as a matter of course, all the delicate attentions which a gentleman instinctively pays to all true womanhood. A lady told me one day of a little inci-

dent that illustrates his habitual thoughtfulness and courtesy. While sitting in her carriage in front of his office, in Fort Worth, she saw him on the street talking to a group of gentlemen. His wife passed him on her way to her phaeton near by, but did not see him. Judge Nugent said to the gentlemen, "Please excuse me while I assist my wife," walked over to her, unhitched her horse, helped her into the phaeton, and raised his hat to her as he went back to his friends. The lady was much impressed by this little act of courteous attention.

I have with much difficulty obtained permission to make these extracts, and it was with great reluctance that the permission was granted. But I feel that one of the most important phases of Judge Nugent's life would be omitted, were no reference made to them. While many of the passages I most desired to quote were withheld as too sacred for publication, the ones I have secured show certain elements in his life and character in a way that nothing else could do. All his utterances are more than worthy to be preserved—his private utterances often more than his public ones—and these may be useful to many. Besides it is due that the world should recognize, what he earnestly declared himself, that his wife was his main help and stay—his comforter in affliction, his loving counselor, and often his inspiration.

ALICE KING.

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One would naturally feel some hesitation in laying open to public eye letters written in confidence, and with no thought of their contents ever being seen by other than the one for whom intended, and that one the confidante from whom no thought, no aspiration, hope, sorrow or joy was ever concealed—one who was to him as part of himself. But we know that to him all such external forms of things are now but as cast off-garments, and if any use can be made of them it would be but a pleasure to him. While the real spirit and substance of the words he uttered still live with him and have passed onward, the word-garments in which they were clothed may serve to show, as any cast-off garment will, the nature and kind of being it was that once they clothed. They cannot show the full glory and

beauty of the real thing, but they can convey some idea of it to every one who reads them—to some more than to others. Such letters as these show forth the character of a man more than all else. In them there is no striving for effect, no studied expressions, no evasions or deceptions—his real thoughts are there—the real soul of him is brought to view. And no good thought was ever spoken, no pure life was ever lived, but that all who hear the thought or know of the life, are elevated and helped thereby.

These letters, written for the most part during the time when Judge Nugent was often absent from home, presiding over the different courts in his district, show the man as he was in private life. They also show how great is the influence of a true marriage upon the character. He believed in the Swedenborgian doctrine, that true marriage is from the Lord; that no man, or woman, is complete in him or herself, but that it takes both the man and the woman to make the complete man-woman or perfect being. He believed that this question of marriage, as it is commonly looked upon, is in reality the root of all the evils in the world; that no permanent, lasting good can ever come to the human race until the marriage question is fully understood. The unhappiness and ills that are exposed by the divorce courts are the least of those that exist. Much is covered up and hidden from public gaze that eats upon the soul like a canker worm, and renders rotten the whole heart of the social system. No man or woman can live out the best that is in him, though he may struggle hard against adverse influences, if alone or mated to one not in full sympathy with every thought of his mind and every aspiration of his soul. He must have that perfect sympathy and assistance—that complement of himself—to fill up the measure of his life as it should be, and could be under right conditions.

#### EXTRACTS.

In a letter written to his wife before their marriage, in 1880, he says :

With me, marriage is something more than a mere civil institution. No external form of words can produce that true

conjugal union which, built upon the marriage of good and truth in the inner sanctuary of the soul, is God's best and most effectual method of evolving the regenerate life. The law of Divine use should, it seems to me, enter into and shape the wedded life of all God's children. With us, as we hasten on to the other world, this matter must be invested with a solemnity and significance that cannot penetrate the heart of one affected only by the lighter moods of sentiment and fancy. I feel that a companion is necessary to me—not for any merely worldly advantage, however greatly that might be promoted—but I need, sadly need, a wife who can enter by sympathy and purpose into my spiritual life, who can share with me my earthly hopes and aspirations because of the heavenly fruition to which I trust they tend, who can cheer me on in the difficult combat with the evils of my life, and who can participate with me in the spiritual triumphs to which her gentle presence and influence shall contribute. This is why I need a wife. But more than this, I crave the luxury of devoting the remainder of my days to one for whom it would be my chief delight to labor in the same sphere of physical use—returning to her, if possible, with usury, the precious treasure of conjugal affection which she might bring to me.

This is but a crude and hasty statement of the thoughts which, on this subject, occur to me every day of my life.

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His desire for his children was always that they might grow into lives of usefulness, as the surest means of happiness. He says in the same letter:

I have not forgotten the dear ones at home and have, from time to time, found my thoughts wandering Heavenward in their behalf. I pray to God to have you in His holy keeping always, and enable you to lead our children into lives of usefulness and happiness.

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The following extracts show his intense love of home and its influence upon him:

GATESVILLE, June, 1883.

I find that even under the most favorable circumstances, when away on the circuit, my spiritual condition sinks much below what it is at home with you. Probably the Lord designs that I should learn to overcome and conquer even circumstances themselves in the unfolding of a higher life. Certain it is, that one cannot always be situated as he desires, and it is better to brave adverse surroundings than basely fly from them—better to overcome temptations than evade them when they arise in the pathway of duty. But enough of this moralizing.

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GATESVILLE, January, 1883.

At all times and in all places my heart turns lovingly and longingly to wife and home—the person and place dearer to me than all beneath the sun. I suppose if my means justified the gratification of my inclination in this regard, office would soon be a thing of the past with me. I would undoubtedly give myself up fully to home life and home pursuits. But then, would I grow less selfish in this course, and more conformed to the will of the Divine teacher? I fear not. It is by running counter to our own wishes, by forcing ourselves into the stream of the world's struggling life, and battling with the winds and waves that beset it; and thus by dying to the easy and pleasant life which our natural inclinations prompt us to seek and desire, that we form hardy spiritual characters, fit to do the will of the Lord. As long as we weakly cling to the life which our narrow personal surroundings have formed, our spiritual natures can never become shaped and broadened to the dimensions of the higher life. It is only by accepting the dispositions of Providence in an obedient and loyal spirit—surrendering absolutely our own for the higher life—that we can learn the deeper spiritual lessons of our existence and prepare for the Divine unfoldings within us. It seems to me that to live at home is what my heart chiefly desires; and yet, duties that call me away, if performed in a reverend spirit, for high ends, must in the long run be of immense value in making my

life more useful and my character more strongly built up on the firm foundation of heavenly truth. I get greatly troubled at times—suffer many internal pains—because of the little measure of success with which my efforts seem crowned, that is, success from a Divine or spiritual standpoint. At the center of my own being I can detect so much subtle selfishness—such an incapacity to ignore self in doing what my conscience requires me to do—that I am not infrequently plunged into the depths of despair. What can I do, though, but to move on, praying for strength to conquer at last?

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HAMILTON, November, 1885.

Just as soon as I can get off, I will go straight to the best place for me—at your side. God only knows how ardently I wish I could stop short off where I am and go home for a long, final stay, never to leave until eternity claims me.

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THORP SPRINGS, March, 1887.

I feel very much the need of your dear presence and company. Somehow I gather strength and comfort from being with you, in spite of the trying experiences which we are constantly called on to confront. I hope for nothing so fervently as the ability to so shape my affairs as to be with you all the time. Every day of contact with the world teaches me that my dear and true wife, more than all the world, can hold my hands up and help me bear the burdens that press so heavily on me. There is a providence in all our ways, however, and we may therefore hope for some change for the better.

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The following, written from Gatesville in December, 1883, shows his kindly and obliging disposition. Dr. McMullen, a traveling phrenologist, well known in that district, was blind,



and no doubt it was a great treat to him to be read to. The remarks upon "Robert Falconer" also give an insight into his deep spiritual character.

For the last few days I have been engaged reading "Robert Falconer" aloud to Dr. McMullen. The poor old man was much pleased with it, and it was like a revelation from Heaven to me. I wished so much that you could have been with us and participated in the delight and profit of the reading. No one with open mind can read the book without being impressed with its powerful presentations of spiritual truths. Such a feast I have not enjoyed for many a day. Throughout the whole reading I could not help thinking that the spirit of the new age was sending beams of heavenly light through the utterances of the author out upon the darkness of the world's religious thought; and in the light of Robert Falconer's character, as drawn by MacDonald, I am sure that I see more plainly than ever the orthodox hell that yawns beneath earth's heartsick and footsore humanity. I feel myself more than usual—nay, more than I ever did before—that I am one of the "heartsick and footsore," and long with renewed yearning for the time when the way of our present disorder and death shall suddenly end in whatever mode the Divine love may provide. How pleasant the prospect of gliding out into the boundless sea of that love to live and serve in the stream of its ever-continuing and all-pervading inspirations. Surely the difficulties and dangers of the storm passage must appear as small, indeed, when the Divine haven shall be reached. The glory that shall be revealed, thank God, is not for you and me, not for any highly-favored individuals, but for every member of earth-born and sin-cursed humanity. How wonderfully does truth shine out through the novels of MacDonald. And how delightful to think that even those who are fighting honestly against the dawning glory shall yet be numbered with God's little ones; howbeit they may be forced to pass through the dissolving fires of the last judgment. Yes, all who have sinned in Adam shall rise to newness of life in the new Adam who, as a loving God, comes not to destroy but to cleanse and save. May the new life and

spirit reach deep into the darkness of our innermost natures and quicken us to renewed efforts in the work of unfolding the higher life. My precious wife, give yourself up fully to the higher inspirations. They will sorely try and afflict you, but in the end will open up a well of ever-living water in your soul, as they must do in us all. May God lead us both and all others into the crucifixion of self and thus into the abiding life and light of the last days.

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Writing, in 1887, from Gatesville, and speaking of a friend who had just returned from an extended trip to Washington Territory with glowing descriptions of its healthy climate, etc., and referring to his own desire to leave the bench and seek health in a more congenial clime, Judge Nugent says:

I feel more than ever like emigrating. How glad I would be if Providence should open the door for my escape to a country full of bouyant health, and the spirit of progress and improvement. But our lives are not our own. In the divine economy, our use is where the Lord puts us, however feebly we may essay to do the Lord's work. If the open door should be set before us, we will enter in. In the meantime, under whatever discouragements, we must pursue the even tenor of our way, doing what is right and remembering always that the end will come to us, as it has and will come to all, and that the merciful purpose of God to us-ward cannot fail. The great thing is to keep the conscience clear, and make the most of what we have. If our opportunities are few, our measure of responsibility will be proportionately lessened, although a proper use of such opportunity as we have will bring to us the "exceeding great reward." You recollect that even the laborers of the eleventh hour got the common penny of compensation.

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Speaking of the discomforts that arise from ill health, poor accommodations, absence from home, and the trials of court life, he writes:

Oh, how weary I am of all this thing. How I long to be able to quit this work and remain at home with you, my dear wife and children. I earnestly pray God that I may be able to spend at least a few years of my life before going hence, in the pure and tender atmosphere of home. I am tired of this ceaseless routine of business—tired of facing and fighting the multiplied evils of our corrupt social and political life, yearning like a sick child to lay my head down on the restful pillow of my own home life, never again to get beyond its loving and sympathizing associations. Is this for us, darling, in the end? Let us pray God that it may be.

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The following was written after Judge Nugent had resigned his position on the bench in 1888, with the intention of resuming the practice of law:

I have been anxiously looking for a letter or card from you, but it has not come and I have, in consequence, been uneasy and troubled about you. I sincerely hope these separations will end with the present year. No one can imagine how gladly I will welcome the change in my business which will enable me to be with you most, if not all of the time. I find myself growing into the feeling that Divine Providence will set before us an open door, and my anxiety about the future is gradually leaving me. Let us prepare to enter when the hour has struck. It seems to me that my life is growing daily more and more to depend upon your presence for all the hope and inspiration it can ever get.

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He discussed everything with his wife. He had no thought too high or too low to share with her, and he was always sure of meeting with her ready understanding and sympathy. Writing from Glen Rose, April, 1888, he says:

How sadly the politicians misinterpret the people, and how criminal to promote strife among them on the prohibition question in order to advance the political interests of ambitious

men. But the day of retribution is approaching. An aroused public sentiment will push self-seeking men to the rear as the horizon of public intelligence widens to take in the mighty issues that are slowly rising into view. The upheaval is coming—not this year may be, nor next, but at some time in the future when the masses throw their eyelids wide open to see the coming light. They will yet know those who have not betrayed a trust or shirked a duty. Let us stand outside and watch the moving column of humanity as it marches to its destiny—willing to help, but more than willing to bear quite an humble share in the coming victory of truth. The people look to me like sheep without a shepherd. Ravenous wolves surround the fold and would lead the way to pastures green—and to slaughter. But Providence will raise up the leader, and when he comes no bugle blast of war will announce his coming. It will rather be heralded by a hymn of joy and praise that God has provided one to bring harmony to discordant counsels and wisdom to temper and direct the zeal of the long-waiting long-suffering sons of toil. And the burden of his song will be the new evangel of redeemed and glorified industry.

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The following was written to his wife at Fort Worth, from Palestine, during the political campaign of 1894 :

As you will see, I have reached Palestine on my round of speaking. How much I wish it was Fort Worth ! I am thoroughly worn out with this political work. More than ever am I determined never to make another popular campaign. Could I this morning quit the field and return to my home and office, I would be inexpressibly happy. . . . I have been overwhelmed with kindness at every point—the attention given me being at times surprisingly marked. Still, my dearest wife, I would willingly lay it all aside for the blessed privilege of being with you—my best, and sometimes I think, my only true and unselfish friend. However, God is managing it all for the best and I do not doubt that good will result to us all.

At Houston I met my nephew, Paul Nugent, and Mr. Armstrong, his brother-in-law. Paul was with me a great deal and was very attentive and kind in looking after my wants. He is a fine young man and stands very high in Houston. He is a civil engineer and is gaining much reputation for skill in his profession and his exemplary habits as a man. You would be delighted with him.

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Judge Nugent's wife, up to the time of his death, made it the chief work of her life to minister to his wants and to keep as much care and worry from him as was possible, in order to preserve and hoard his strength for the work he felt called upon to do for the people.

Ambition had little if any place in his heart. His one aim and desire, as shown in all his private as well as his public life, was to lead a life of use and be of service to humanity. He let nothing interfere with his sense of duty in this direction. Had he devoted himself exclusively to the practice of his profession there is no doubt but that he would have acquired both wealth and exalted eminence. Had he cared for political honors and been willing to sacrifice his sense of duty in their pursuit, he could doubtless have attained the highest. But he gave himself as a willing sacrifice in the service of the people, and devoted his time, his means, his labor and his health—even life itself—in their behalf, without thought of reward other than the consciousness of having accomplished good.

Believing that he could not be elected, he gave his time and labor to the Populist party, as a candidate for governor, during two political campaigns in Texas. For such honors as might be gained he cared nothing. Only a sense of duty urged him on. Often he started out on a campaign tour suffering from such utter physical weakness that his wife saw him depart with fear and trembling. She accompanied him whenever possible, that she might keep up his strength by giving and securing such attentions as he would never think of asking for himself. Often did she see him return from arduous toil in his office or upon the stump in such extreme weakness and exhaustion as

scarcely to be able to drag his weary feet along. And when, at last, she watched his strength decline from week to week and day to day, and knew that the end must soon come, who can picture the grief of her heart? He gave his life for the people. She gave what to her was far dearer than life.

## NEWSPAPER AND PERSONAL ESTIMATES OF JUDGE NUGENT.

### THROUGH TEXAS!

A CAMPAIGN WHICH MEANS THE BEASTLY MAJORITY MUST GO

Judge Thomas L. Nugent—Conditions Which Make Him More Than a Party Candidate—Proposed Republican Fusion—Anti-Hogg Democracy.

[Special Correspondence "Globe Democrat."]

FORT WORTH, TEX., Aug. 10, 1892.—What the People's party tried to do at Omaha is accomplished in Texas. For a state campaign the nomination of Judge Thomas L. Nugent was what the selection of Judge Gresham would have been in a national sense. A thousand Texas farmers met in Dallas and chose Judge Nugent for the head of their ticket. They did better than they knew. Nugent has been before the people of Texas two months. He has developed strength. He now stands for more than the party which nominated him. The elements in the Democratic party which cannot be reconciled to the renomination of Gov. Hogg are warming toward Nugent. The Republicans of the state have opened correspondence with the National Republican Committee on the expediency of leaving a clear field for Nugent against Hogg. Following the renomination of the Governor at Houston the Republicans will hold a convention. That element of the party which believes

in white supremacy has already put out an exceptionally strong ticket. The head is a son of the last Union Governor of Texas. A son of the only Republican Governor Texas ever had is the candidate for Attorney General. The selection for Commissioner of the Land Office is the son of Ex-secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, whose birthday was celebrated by the Republican National Convention at Minneapolis. The nominee for State Treasurer is an ex-Major from a Pennsylvania regiment. From top to bottom the ticket is of good stock. Whether it will remain before the people is yet to be determined. The inclination in many quarters seems to favor a concentration upon Nugent of all of the elements in opposition to Hogg.

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Fort Worth's site is a high plateau. From his office windows Judge Nugent can see more of Texas than can any other lawyer in the state. River and Prairie, cross timbers, blossoming cotton, ripening corn, wheat in shock, the cattle of a thousand hills and radiating railroads are within the Judge's vision when he wheels from his desk and its load of sheep skin-covered law. If, having eyes to see, he uses them, he can hardly fail of comprehensive views about Texas.

In physique Judge Nugent is the very antithesis of the man against whom he is pitted. He hasn't an ounce of flesh to spare. Gov. Hogg was cast in a mold so massive that one hesitates to guess his weight. There is vigor in Judge Nugent's movement but it is the power of mind over matter. Nerve force sends him along the track of this most remarkable race. Judge Nugent's face is a little narrower than President Harrison's but it has some of the same strength of feature. The paleness of the student is one thing that impresses itself. The third party man is usually of rugged features and bronzed tint. Wrestling with mighty problems has deepened the lines of his face, and close acquaintance with Texas wind and sun has given color. When the weather beaten farmers gather around their pale, intellectual looking candidate the contrast is striking. Judge Nugent is a Louisianian by birth and a Texan by nearly



a quarter of a century of adoption. He was a secessionist. He believed in the Divine right of slavery. He was a Southerner of the distinct ultra type, highly educated, highly bred and of high spirit. The evolution of such a man into the third party is an interesting study. How did it come about?

"I parted company with the Democratic party," he said in conversation, "because I became dissatisfied with its inconsistency in principle, the corruption of its national management and the continual surrender to the interests of Wall street. I became convinced that the Democracy would do anything for the offices."

And then the Judge in sharp, clear sentences sketched Democratic history on the tariff question since the war. He showed how the party had fought out the great fight with the Whigs before the war, and had gone over to Whig ground immediately after the war when it nominated Seymour. He instanced the nomination of Greeley, a high protectionist. Four years afterward he said the party won with Tilden, and for years after that it declared the tariff a local issue. In 1884 it won on tariff reform. It had not stood on the same ground more than two campaigns in succession, but seemed willing to profess anything to get the offices.

"For myself," said the Judge, "I am a free trader—not a tariff reformer, but a free trader. I realize, however, that we have got to go very slowly and to take care that varied and important interests do not suffer before we reach free trade. It will take a long time to bring the people to free trade and to the support of the government by general taxation, but it is the correct thing. This brief expression illustrates the character of the man. He has his theories, but he is not in favor of establishing them by radical or revolutionary steps in legislation. He believes in the education of the people to what he is convinced would be better forms of government. Such characteristics make it possible for elements which are not identified with the third party to support Judge Nugent. In Texas the railroad question is a greater issue than the tariff. The Hogg idea of railroad regulation is through a commission into whose hands the legislature has put more power for the good or bad

than three men ever before possessed in any state. In a speech upon the stump one day last week Judge Nugent said:

“And it is just as much robbery to take money from a railroad without giving it some equivalent as it is to take your horses when you are asleep. A railroad is a great industrial enterprise. It combines all the wealth producing factors—land, labor and capital. It is one of the necessities of civilization and a benefit to society. The Democratic party of Texas invited these railroads to come here. It held up its hands and said, we have a great state, an undeveloped state; one likely to produce enormous tonnage. Come in here and help build it up, and we will treat you right. The Democratic party of Texas even wanted railroads so badly that it went to the extent of giving the companies great bodies of the public domain, in order to induce them to come in and help develop the state. These roads are entitled to the same protection as the farmer, and taking money from them is just as much robbery as taking the farmer’s money from him.”

The judicial cast of mind manifests itself in all of Judge Nugent’s declarations. He is for that great American principle of fair play to everybody, farmer and corporation. Governmental control of railroads is a cardinal principle in the third party. Judge Nugent says he does not believe in the government taking control of the railroads without a very thorough trial on a limited scale. He thinks there should be no general application of the principles until the government has managed one or two roads long enough to show that it is entirely advisable.

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It takes temerity to talk about any possibility of defeat for the Democratic nominee in Texas. The man who carried the State by 180,000 majority two short years ago and receives renomination by a two thirds vote in the convention ought to be able to read his title clear to the mansion on the hill at Austin. No prediction as to the result is intended. This is not an occasion for an exhibition of rainbow chasing nerve. But the situation in Texas presents some very remarkable

phases. These may be remembered. The oldest inhabitants agree that there has never been any such politics in the State. Judge Nugent's personality peculiarly fits him for just such a candidacy as his has become. He has never been an aspirant for any office he did not fill. Nine years service on the bench of the State qualified him for more in the opinion of his constituents. His services ended because he declined to accept another term. The charge has not and cannot be raised that he left his party because of disappointed ambition. There was a time when his Democratic friends wished to send him to Congress, but he refused. The People's party sought him. He accepted upon a platform which modifies in two or three particulars the more radical declarations. At the time of that acceptance, nearly two months ago, neither the Judge nor the party saw the importance of that action. The conditions likely to limit the contest to two candidates had not developed. The great issue of Hogg and anti-Hogg had not revealed its full significance. Judge Nugent probably accepted as a matter of principle, and without a hope of election. He became the candidate of the third party, and now he finds himself growing into the candidacy of all elements which oppose a repetition of the present administration and of 180,000 Democratic majority. The cultivation of a judicial temperament is a great thing. Judge Nugent takes to the new conditions calmly and coolly. He is not unduly elated nor over sanguine.

"If," said he, "our Executive Committee had \$25,000 with which to meet the legitimate expenses of the campaign, we would beat Hogg. But our people for the most part are not well-to-do. They have little money until they pick their cotton. We are obliged to do the best we can without a campaign fund. Our committee has just organized and arranged a plan of campaign. From all that I hear our prospects are encouraging."

This is all Judge Nugent will say as to his hopes. He is not a boastful man. The possibilities in the case depend upon the amount of Republican assistance and the degree of Democratic disaffection. Gov. Hogg has gained his necessary two-thirds in the Convention, but at the expense of an intensely

bitter minority faction. Its party discipline has saved the Democracy many a time. Already some of the leaders on the anti-Hogg side are saying that if the Governor is renominated they will support him. They are politicians. The element which talks loud and cusses vigorously will follow the leaders to the polls and "vote for Hogg, d——n him." But Clark, as emphasizing all that is anti-Hogg, has had the vigorous support of the commercial classes. The Democratic merchants, the Democratic bankers, the Democratic traveling men, the Democratic clerks are quite generally against Hogg. These men, as politicians all know, do not wear the party collar. They oppose Hogg as a business proposition. They believe his policy is damaging to the commercial interests. When George Clark announced himself as a candidate for governor on the anti-Hogg ticket, the business men of the State took such a part in preliminaries and primaries as they had never done before. Now the question is, where will these commercial elements be found on election day? The Republicans polled 77,742 votes in 1890. That was 10,000 short of the vote in 1888, and 16,000 below the poll of 1884. The inference from these figures would be that Republicans are dying off in Texas. Such is not the case. There has not been sufficient motive for Republicans voting in Texas. Can 70,000 Republicans, or anything like that number, be led to see the expediency of voting for Nugent? That is the second factor in the problem. Heretofore the Democratic nomination in Texas has been equivalent to election. This time there will be some lively treading of water after the Houston Convention. "No bottom," perhaps, describes the condition of the political pool.

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Judge Nugent talks interestingly about the race question. "Either in interview or letter," said he, "I am going to advocate shortly the separation of the races in our penitentiaries. I believe the negro convicts should be by themselves, and I believe that they should be under the charge of negro officers. This principle, I think should be extended to other state

institutions, such as the asylums. Negro officers should be placed over institutions set apart for negro inmates. We already have negro teachers for negro schools in this state. My idea is that separation, as far as possible, is best for the negro. Anything which helps to remove this controversy about so-called and impossible social equality is wise. I am in favor of giving the negroes recognition in such positions under the state government as they are able to fill, and in favor of their advancement. The policy of separation will help them, I believe.

“Is the race making progress, Judge?” was asked.

“Some negroes are doing well,” he replied. “They are acquiring means and command respect as good citizens. Then there is a class of the old type, honest, faithful and content to labor. But around the towns and cities there are growing up many young negroes who are falling into evil ways. All of the negroes in Texas are sending their children to school; negro children very generally can read and write. When I was young I thought slavery was all right. I believed that the Bible justified it. It seemed to me it was entirely proper that the negro should be owned, worked and taken care of. After the war I came to take a very different view. I reached the conclusion that slavery was bad, and that those who suffered most from the evil effects of the system were the white people, not the black.”

Democrats complain that in his campaign speeches thus far Judge Nugent has devoted most of his attention to their party's national record. The charge is true. That is the subject upon which the Judge talks with most feeling. He entertains the deepest contempt for national Democratic leadership. It is the deepest contempt of a strong, sincere man who has been in and of the party the best years of his life, and, at last, reluctantly awakens to the hollowness and hypocrisy of its pretensions.

“If Blaine had been nominated,” said Judge Nugent, “and if it was a question of voting for him or for Cleveland, I would vote for Blaine. I believe Mr. Cleveland is more under the influence of the corrupt money power of the east than Mr. Har-

ri-son. I believe Mr. Cleveland's sympathies are with the aristocracy of wealth, and he represents those ideas as against the interests of the people, notwithstanding his tariff reform declarations."

The man in charge of Judge Nugent's campaign is Col. H. L. Bently. He has left his business at Abilene to devote himself to this work. His capacity as an organizer is said to be far above the ordinary.

"We have," said Col. Bently, "a strong club organization in Texas to begin with. Our rolls show a membership of 100,000 and it is growing."

To the inquiry whether the party apprehended any bulldozing Col. Bently smiled. He is an ex-confederate, a member of the Confederate Veterans' Association, an officer on the staff of Lieut.-Gen. Cabell, commanding the Trans-Mississippi Confederate Veterans, and also on the staff of Gen. Ross, commanding the Texas division of the Veterans. His old home was Danville, Virginia. Referring to the relations between Union and Confederate veterans in the third party, Col. Bently said there was the most cordial feeling. He thought the third party movement had done more than anything else to bring about this era of good feeling. "It has brought about the end of the bloody shirt business," he said, "and we shall never have any more of it."

The tributes to Judge Nugent's personal worth come from a great variety of sources. Papers like the *Dallas News* and *Fort Worth Gazette* have spoken so kindly of the People's party nominee that their party-loyalty has been almost suspected by the friends of Hogg. A few days ago, at Sherman, Capt. Tom Brown, the father of the railroad commission law and the manager in a large part of Gov. Hogg's campaign, said in the course of a conversation, that Judge Nugent was an able lawyer and a man of high integrity. He regretted that the Judge had left the party. He said that when such men withdrew, it was time for the Democracy to do something in the interests of the people. Col. Webb Flanagan is probably the best known of Texas Republicans to the North. He fills a very comfortable

chair in the new Custom House at El Paso. His personal opinion of Judge Nugent was expressed heartily.

"I served with the gentleman about four months in 1880," he said. "We were members of the Constitutional Convention. Judge Nugent is a very active worker and a very correct one. He is a conscientious man of fine ability, highly educated and one of the most cultured men in Texas."

"Has he got any crank notions?" was asked.

"I don't think he has," said Col. Flanagan. "Belonging to the third party as he does and committed as he is to the idea of the Government control of railroads, he recommends that the experiment be carefully tried with two or three roads and not with the whole. That shows his disposition to go slow."

"Did he leave the Democratic party on any personal grounds?"

"I don't think he did. He left the bench of his own motion. He could have kept his judgeship if he had wished. He could have gone to Congress if he had remained a Democrat. The party would have given him the nomination in his district. He could have had it in this district where he lived for a time."

"The change is from principle, then?"

"I think so. Judge Nugent wants the rights of the people sustained according to his views of them. He is strictly an honest man. You can take the Democratic papers all through the state or talk with Democrats wherever you meet them; you will not find one that doesn't speak in the highest terms of Judge Nugent."

"Don't you think, Colonel, that many people in Texas have gone into the third party movement because they are opposed to the Democratic policy rather than because they accept the third party principles?"

"No question about that. The most intelligent men who are supporting Nugent are doing it without regard to third party ideas. They are sick of the "beastly majority" and disgusted with the Democratic machine. They believe it will be better for Texas to have a division on political lines more nearly even. Whatever is the result of this campaign, that majority of 180,000 is a thing of the past. Everybody will concede that now."

Politically, Capt. Tom Brown and Col. Webb Flanagan are as wide apart as the poles. Their personal opinions go to show that Judge Nugent is an ideal candidate for the peculiar conditions of the present campaign in Texas.

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I knew Judge Nugent intimately for more than twenty years preceding his death. I enjoyed his friendship and possessed his confidence. In my relations with and observations of him, I have had the fullest opportunity to learn and understand his character and appreciate the manner of man he was. I have repeatedly been with him in his home, at his friends, in the social converse and hospitable communion of an invited guest, and then I have had him with me beneath my roof. I have met him at the bar in the honorable competition of our profession. I have appeared before him and practiced in the court when he occupied the bench. For many years we were of the same political creed, and mutually supported each other for public office; during which time I was the beneficiary of his kindly suggestions and thoughtful advice. Our subsequent political separation, in no respect diminished our personal friendship and esteem, nor, in any degree, abated my entire confidence in the purity of his motives and the sincerity of his convictions. We have talked with each other since our changed relations in this respect, with all the freedom and frankness which result from long and cordial association. The introspection of him which has been afforded me in consequence of the foregoing facts, has in a great measure, qualified me to speak candidly and truthfully of him, now that he is no more. He would not, if he could, dictate that I should speak otherwise, for, in his life-time, he absolutely "disdained disguise," and was always ingenuous and manly, entirely above and beyond deceitfulness. He was as free from hypocrisy as any man I ever knew.

Judge Nugent was an exceptionally scholarly man. To a liberal education he had added a vast store of information, acquired from extensive reading and profound research. He



broadened the knowledge he possessed by the operation of his own intellectuality. As a colloquialist, I have never known his superior. His language was graceful, cultured, eloquent, and always singularly free from slang and indelicacy. It was a treat to hear him converse on any subject. I have frequently had occasion to admire his diction. Even in social or business epistolary correspondence, he was unusually accurate and accomplished. He was a literary purist. A profane, an inelegant, an indecent or wicked word I never heard escape his lips. I have frequently remarked that his charges to the juries, whether oral or written, were as faultless as a carefully prepared magazine article. His public speeches were characterized by the same charm and precision. His vocabulary, whether in requisition for pen or tongue, was always copious, chaste, correct. The English language has been beautified, dignified, preserved and purified whenever and however uttered by him.

Judge Nugent was a kindly, genial, amiable man. There was nothing harsh, sullen or hateful in his disposition. He was generous and forgiving in his nature, never bearing malice, but always ready and resolute in his expression of disapprobation of any species of impropriety or injustice. His eye was quick to see, his ear to hear, and his heart to respond to any condition of human wretchedness. He deeply pitied the woes and troubles of mankind. He was easily approached. Upright and sincere himself, he was not suspicious of guile in others. I do not doubt that his absence of distrust in his fellow-man has, at times, made him the subject of imposition.

He was a thoroughly conscientious man. This he exhibited in all the walks of life, as a citizen, in the social and moral relations, at the bar, on the bench and in the field of politics. Whatever cause he espoused was in response to his convictions of duty. He was a jurist of high order. His service as judge of the District Court was efficient and useful. He was courteous to all with whom he came in contact, never dogmatic nor tyrannical. He was fair and considerate alike to litigant and counsel, ever striving to be just in his judgments. His judicial conduct was such that he was rarely, if ever subjected to

adverse criticism at the hands of his professional brethren. I think it can be truthfully affirmed that he had the entire respect of every lawyer who ever practiced before him, together with abiding confidence in his legal ability and integrity.

His political career of recent years has been indeed remarkable. I, for one, do not believe that the motives which led him to advocate the cause of Populism and to align himself with the party it represents were of a selfish character, nor do I think that he was especially ambitious for official preferment. His splendid character and commanding ability were such as to focalize the attention of his new political associates upon him, and it is not wonderful that, as the voice of one man, they united in calling him to leadership, and supported him with unwavering loyalty. He passed through two heated campaigns for the highest office in the State, and though retiring therefrom in defeat, he still retained the unshaken confidence of his party, and did not forfeit the respect of his political opponents. It is no small thing to say of any man that he died the political idol of more than one hundred thousand men in any State, and this can be faithfully declared of Nugent in Texas.

Of his religious life it is not my province to speak, but I know that he had firm and honest views in this regard, and their observance was satisfactory to his conscience. From the standpoint of human judgment he was a good man. Beyond that it is impossible for mortal vision to reach. Those of us who knew him best, can repeat his dying words, and say that in this world, as it was given to him to see it, we verily believe he "tried to do his duty."

S. W. T. LANHAM.

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It gives me supreme pleasure to testify to the kingly qualities of my deceased friend, Hon. T. L. Nugent. I recall with great pleasure my first acquaintance with him. It was along in 1882, as I now remember it, when publishing the *Gatesville Advance*, I met Judge Nugent, who was at that time

District Judge of a large district, including Coryell county, where I then lived. The impression I first received of him was that he was a man of superior character in every way, and that impression not only remained with me through all the years of our friendship, but deepened as I came to know him better in after years. In those days his was a difficult task. It is not a reflection on the excellent people of Coryell county to say that in the years gone by there was in that county a great deal of crime committed. Of course the good people are not responsible for this. I merely cite it as a fact that is well known. During the years when the criminality prevailed to a greater extent than perhaps at any other time, either in the past or subsequently, Judge Nugent presided over the court of that county in a masterly manner. He was as brave as a lion, as gentle as a woman, as conscientious and upright as any man, and supremely unselfish in all his acts, both public and private. It is not too much to say that he stood for many years at the very head of the legal profession in Texas, and that when he died, no man in this state or any other was more widely esteemed and beloved than he was. I remember when his political faith began to change. When I first met him he and I were both very ardent and earnest Democrats, and worked together for years as members of that party. In private, however, many times, we discussed the abuses that had become dominant in that party, and which seem to be on the increase. As for my own part, when my political faith changed in 1886, I espoused the cause of the Prohibition party, and later on Judge Nugent, by the logic of events, unable longer to endorse the monopolistic tendencies of his old party, aligned himself with the new and promising Populist party.

It seems to me that such a life as his should be an inspiration to every young man. His life was a constant rebuke to the methods believed by some men to be necessary to success in life, and a constant emphasis of the fact that honesty and uprightiness and probity and fidelity to conviction lead to the highest and best success in life. If I had to select a model for the young men of this generation, I would not need to go further than my deceased friend and brother. I trust that the

volume which is being prepared by his beloved wife may serve to inspire many young men with a holy ambition to emulate the noble example he has left with us, and that the deeds of his kingly life, more imperishable than Parian marble, may serve as sign posts on the high road to signal success and honorable achievement on the part of many struggling youths. Had he lived, and had he allowed his name to be again used as a candidate for governor of Texas by the Populist party, I have no doubt that he would have been elected to that high office. While a member of another party, and while voting the Prohibition ticket in each election, I think no man who has ever been offered for office in Texas was more deserving than Judge Nugent. If the friends who knew him best, both in public and private life, will emulate his efforts and stand as he stood, for what they conscientiously believe to be right, I am sure they will carry out in the best possible way the wishes of their dead friend. May it be the will of God that many men such as he was, may rise up to bless our land.

DR. J. B. CRANFILL.

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TYLER, TEXAS, December 19, 1895.

MRS. T. L. NUGENT:

*Kind Madam*—I was absent from Tyler when the sad, sad news of Judge Nugent's death was received. To us of east Texas his death was a surprise and a shock. We loved and trusted your husband, and he was to us the star of our hope. That star has faded from the firmament, and for the present we are in darkness. There is sorrow in our hearts for the loved and lost one, and our invisible tears mingled with your own as they fell on the bier of him whom we all loved so fondly and so well. There is mourning in thousands of humble homes in east Texas, and the wives in those homes sorrow over the death of your great and good husband, and they sympathize with you in your great bereavement.

Personally I feel that I have lost a friend. On a few occasions we were much together; and in hours of private conference

I learned much of Judge Nugent which the general public could not know. Those conferences greatly endeared him to me, and his counsel gave me much strength. I saw his goodness and greatness, his deep love for the common people—and these are the ones who loved him most. His place in his party and in the hearts of our people will be hard to fill—if not impossible. Knowing your husband as I did and loving him as I do, I have tried to tell the story of his life just as it appeared to me—to pay my humble tribute of love and friendship to the memory of the greatest and best and purest public man I have ever known. May God comfort and sustain you in your hour of deep, deep sorrow. Judge Nugent fought a good fight and died a victor. His life was a benediction to mankind; his memory a precious legacy; his reward is sure to be great. Thank God for having given to the world so great and good a man.

In profound sympathy and esteem, I am,

with respect,

D. M. REEDY.

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MRS. T. L. NUGENT :

*My Dear Friend.*—As you are aware, I knew Judge Nugent intimately in his home-life for more than sixteen years. To have known him from a professional or political standpoint was a great privilege; but to fully appreciate the greatness of his mind and soul was to have known him socially, as a friend and neighbor. At his home, as well as elsewhere, I found him at all times the same plain, quiet, unobtrusive and unpretentious Christian gentleman. Many a day have I spent with him, and whether the subject discussed was science, politics or religion, I always came away feeling that I was a wiser and a better man for having been in his presence. Both conversant with all ancient and modern literature, having a classical education, using the most chaste and faultless language, he seemed perfectly oblivious to his great attainments, and so wonderful was his adaptation to all classes of men that the most ignorant was

at ease in his presence. His feelings toward the poor and unfortunate were of the most sympathetic. When discussing an important political, social or religious question, he would often pause and excuse himself to give counsel and advice to a stranger or a negro. The secret of his greatness was his humility and simplicity of heart and his great love and sympathy for the downtrodden and oppressed. To sit with him in his hospitable home, or to walk around with him over his farm, orchard and pasture, as I have done scores of times, was a veritable pleasure. His companionship lifted one above the routine of ordinary life into a purer and more congenial atmosphere.

When I first became acquainted with Judge Nugent, I thought his criticisms of the existing state of affairs, especially of church and state, were a little severe. Reared as I had been among people who believed and practiced the "traditions of the Elders," both in church and state, without giving them any thought, it shocked me somewhat to hear him criticise the corrupt state of the nation and the tendency of the churches toward ecclesiasticism rather than vital religion. But ere long the scales fell from my eyes and I saw that he was right. He had such an aversion to the horror of anything like fraud, sham or hypocrisy, whether in an individual, state or church, that he could not look upon them with much toleration; but he threw the mantle of charity over all their shortcomings, for he believed that under the Divine providence all these things would work out for good in the end. The secret of his hold on the common people was his deep sympathy with them in their struggles to free themselves from bondage to monopolies and political taskmasters. With a vision possessed by few men, he foresaw their danger and warned them to dispossess their enemies of their power at the ballot box. He felt it his duty to devote his life to the betterment of his fellowmen, especially of those whom he thought were being imposed upon by corrupt legislation. On the faithful performance of such duties, no doubt his mind was running when he spoke his last words, "I have tried to do my duty." And he did it.

S. FRANK.

ALVARO, TEXAS, Feb. 10, 1896.

MRS. T. L. NUGENT, Forth Worth :

*Dear Sister*—Your letter of recent date received. In reply I am happy to state that I was personally acquainted with your beloved husband, T. L. Nugent, both in private counsels and public labors, for six years prior to his departure. I do not like to say death, as I do not regard, in the light of Revelation and the experience of all good men, the end of our earthly or material existence as death. This truth was fully realized by your husband. God being spirit, man emanating from God is also spirit, and spirit never dies. Brother Nugent fully realized that the great need of the world of mankind is a recognition of the fatherhood of God, and the universal brotherhood of man; and that the only line of success is to overcome evil with good or all powerful love as taught and exemplified by Christ. In all his life work, the soul of Nugent was always, when it was my privilege to meet him, fully aglow with love for humanity, ardently desiring to do all he could to elevate his race to a higher plane of intellectual and spiritual being. He was loved by all the good and revered by the crude. He was a reformer of the highest type. Being armed with the sword of Truths he was bold and fearless as a lion; yet as meek as a little child. God is blessing his labor of love and will continue to bless it in spreading the light of true Christian civilization over the land until right shall rule and conquer error, and the full import of the heavenly messenger's glad refrain, "Peace on earth, good will to men," shall be realized by all.

Yours in truth,

J. B. DABNEY.

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Having known and loved Judge T. L. Nugent as I did, I consider it a great privilege to record a few things in honor of his past life. I feel my incompetency to do justice to the subject and shall not attempt anything like a description of his professional or public life, for this would take a more gifted pen than mine, although I regarded him in this capacity as having

but few, if any, peers in our Lone Star State. To know Judge Nugent was to love him. More especially to know him, as I did, in his private home life.

I feel thankful for having been permitted to obtain an insight into his private life. It has ever acted as an inspiration to me in my own life. He was generous to all. I have no recollection of ever hearing him speak ought against his fellow-men. On the contrary, he was ever ready with a word of praise.

To know the innermost of a man's nature, you should know him at home, in his private life. Judge Nugent was as pure in his private life as he proved himself to be in public.

May his memory live long, and may many be inspired to nobler lives by his grand example!

J. C. POWERS.

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#### JUDGE THOMAS L. NUGENT,

Most public men have a double character. It was said of one of our great (?) statesmen that he was politically honest and incorruptible, but that his private life was impure; that many young men were ruined by his influence. While T. L. Nugent was a just judge, a safe counsellor, and a wise political leader, he was greatest in the example and influence of his private life. At home, as husband, father and neighbor he was seen at his best. At the close of the hard day's work in the court, his wife would meet him with the buggy and all the annoyances of scheming lawyers, delinquent juries and unreliable witnesses would be forgotten in the ride home. This home was not a mansion hemmed in by stately houses and paved streets, but a home where meadow, orchard and farm told of plenty, and the cottage among the trees invited rest. It was a true democratic American home, where culture and refinement gave hearty welcome to all classes. The scholar or the day-laborer found a companion and a sympathizer in Judge Nugent, and all men left his home with an impulse to a



more useful life. Such homes have furnished some of our best statesmen, and such homes are needed all over our land more than are splendid cities.

PROF. RANDOLPH CLARK,  
Pres. Add-Ran University, Waco, Texas.

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Thomas L. Nugent was no ordinary man. He was an accomplished scholar, a profound jurist, a far-seeing statesman and political economist. In manners he was unassuming and in morals he was pure. His character was the embodiment of the best elements that compose a model Christian, patriot and American citizen. He was simple in his habits and refined in his tastes. He revered God, venerated justice, loved liberty and regarded the moral progress, welfare and happiness of the whole people as the matter of supreme public concern. He seemed to recognize that the rancour of party prejudice was the greatest barrier to the progress of economic truth; and "with malice toward none and charity for all," he directed the energies of his great mind to its removal, so that government policies and party principles might be brought before the bar of public opinion that should be unbiased by the traditions of the past.

Thomas L. Nugent had the confidence of the people of Texas. No man among us had a more brilliant future before him—none who had within his grasp greater power for doing good—and there was no one who seemed more fully determined to exercise it for the good of his country. A man of the highest order of intellect, possessing a heart burdened with love and care for his people—a leader of leaders among the hosts of reformers—his death leaves a vacancy in public life that will be difficult to fill. I fear that we shall not soon have his like among us again.

J. M. PERDUE.

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## FUNERAL NOTICES AND RESOLUTIONS.

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### CONSIGNED TO EARTH!

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Judge Nugent's Remains Rest in the Soil of Stephenville, Which  
He Loved So Well.

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#### EVIDENCES OF MOURNING

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Were Visible on Every Hand, and the Body Was Followed to the Grave By  
Hundreds—Simple Ceremonies.

STEPHENVILLE, ERATH CO., TEX., Dec. 15.—At the Nugent home in Fort Worth this morning crowds viewed the remains of the distinguished dead until 8 o'clock, when the hearse bearing the casket was escorted to the union depot, where the special train, generously and gratuitously tendered by the management of the Fort Worth and Rio Grande railway, stood ready to bear the funeral party to Stephenville. Engine No. 2, with Veteran Mike Hughes, who ran the first train over the road, at the throttle; the baggage car and coaches were heavily draped with mourning, hundreds of yards of crepe being visible about it, all the work of the Rio Grande management. The simple casket, buried with the rarest of flowers and containing the loved mortal remnant of a statesman and a humanitarian, was tenderly and tearfully placed in the baggage car. Around it were arranged seats of the most comfortable character, which were occupied by Mrs. Thomas L. Nugent,

Wm. P. Nugent, Clarence Nugent, widow and sons of the judge; W. S. Essex, his law partuer; Mrs. Essex, Mr. and Mrs. John W. Wray, Judge W. D. Harris of the seventeenth district court, Hon. R. Y. Prigmore, E. W. Yates and Mrs. Belle M. Burchill. The train departed promptly at 9 a. m., in charge of General Superintendent of Transportation John D. Huddleston.

The Fort Worth delegation, occupying the coaches, was headed by Hon. W. P. McLean, N. H. Lassiter, J. M. Moore, Seth W. Stewart, B. P. Eubank, Theodore Mack, John R. Cushman; F. G. Thurman, C. J. Shepard, George Q. McGown, A. Armison, R. H. Smith, M. D. Priest, E. A. Peeler, Col. J. Peter Smith, L. Colham, S. O. Moodie, Judge John S. Triplett, Judge J. C. Randolph, Col. J. Y. Hoggsett, Dr. Ellen Lawson Dabbs and others. Many of the gentlemen were accompanied by their wives.

Col. E. A. Jones of Waco and a special representative of the *News* were on board. The first stop was made at Cresson, and while none joined the party here, still fully 200 were at the depot on arrival of the train, some of whom were in tears, while others bared their heads as the train came to a standstill.

The next stop was at Granbury, where fully 500 had assembled, including the leading citizens of the city. The party joining the funeral train was headed by Col. D. L. Nutt, J. H. Doyle, Judge N. L. Cooper, W. T. Lyle, Dr. J. S. Turner, Dr. J. R. Lancaster, J. F. Kerr, Ed Boone, J. S. Browning, Hon. B. M. Estes, Jess Baker and others, most of whom were accompanied by ladies. Among those at the depot who stood uncovered as the train passed, but could not accompany it, were Judge Lee Riddle and Hon. Lee Martin.

The next and last stop before reaching Stephenville was made at Bluffdale. Here another large crowd was at the depot to greet the train, and accessions headed by Dr. J. A. Wood, M. Parnell and Warner Parnell, were taken aboard. At this point Hon. J. U. Vincent, the advance guard from Stephenville, was taken on.

When the train hove in sight of Stephenville the sight that greeted the eyes of the mourners aboard beggars description.

The depot and the streets thereabout were lined with people of all classes, and the aggregation of buggies, wagons and carriages, containing those who knew Judge Nugent best, and which gave undisputed testimony of the esteem in which they held him, brought tears and sobs from all sections of the train. As it slowed up Engineer Hughes had his fireman toll the engine bell, and soon the journey was over. Many of the citizens of Erath county, irrespective of party, were overcome, and sobs were audible in various parts of the great throng. The Masonic lodges of Stephenville and Comanche were present in full force, and to the number of 100 and more lined the passageway from the train to the hearse.

The Fort Worth bar removed the casket from the train, and as they slowly walked through the narrow aisle formed by the Masons the spectators uncovered their heads as the mournful journey proceeded. The march to the cemetery, some two miles distant, was then taken up, the Masonic fraternity preceding the hearse on both sides, and in the rear of which were the Fort Worth attorneys. Passing the business portion of the town habiliments of sorrow were in evidence on all hands. The procession to the cemetery was over a mile in length and some twenty minutes elapsed between the arrival of the front and rear of the procession. The place of sepulture is in the southwest corner of the cemetery and the spot is surrounded by spreading oaks, now shorn of apparent life, but due to break forth in living green once again with the advent of spring and shelter the mound from the summer suns.

The last sad rites were opened by a song, "All is Well," led by Mrs. James U. Vincent, and assisted by the ladies of Stephenville. Next came a touching tribute from Judge Nugent's life-long friend, Judge Thomas B. King. Hon. G. H. Goodson, of Comanche, next followed, reviewing the career of the deceased, paying a tribute that caused the tears of the hearers to mingle with his own. He had known Judge Nugent intimately since 1874. Next came "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," from the assembly. Its rendition in low tones was pathetic, and, by so many, was impressive indeed.

The Masonic fraternities of Stephenville and Comanche, led

by Master of ceremonies L. B. Russel, of Comanche, then concluded the ceremonies in accordance with Masonic ritual. When all was over, and the grave buried beneath rare and costly flowers, another song followed and the mourners and friends dispersed.

Hon. C. H. Jenkins headed a large party from Brownwood, while Hon. N. R. Lindsay, G. H. Goodson, L. B. Russel and many others were present from Comanche.

The Fort Worth contingent, including Mrs. Nugent, left for home at 3:30 p. m.

A feature of the sad scene at the cemetery was the presence of some two hundred colored people in a body, all of whom were much affected. On the trip down the doorways of cottages, and in many places the side of the track, were filled and lined with spectators gathered to greet the train as it sped along on its sad mission.

Judge Nugent resided here from 1871 to 1889, and up to the end was loved and respected by all classes. Such scenes as were presented at the depot and cemetery are not often witnessed. Judge Nugent occupied the district bench from 1879 to early in 1889, when he resigned and located in El Paso, moving to Fort Worth shortly thereafter. He held to the hour of his death the love, confidence and esteem of every man, woman and child in the district. None but the noblest and purest of lives could induce such a demonstration as that of to-day. A description of it would require the pen of a Hugo or Dumas. That his remains rest beneath the sod of old Erath, so long his home, is a fact highly gratifying to those who were so long his neighbors and his friends. The incidents of his career cited by those who knew him best but emphasize what the public already knows of him. That his party and his state in his death have suffered an irreparable loss none can doubt.

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#### RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT.

FORT WORTH, Tex., Dec. 14.—The following resolutions, reported by L. Calloun, S. O. Moodie and Martin Irons, were adopted by members of the People's party:

Whereas, it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the universe to remove from our midst our beloved friend and noble leader, the Hon. T. L. Nugent; and

Whereas, we deem it our duty, as it is our pleasure, to leave to the country, our associates and his bereaved family some testimonial of our love for the deceased and sympathy for his family; therefore

Resolved, that in the death of the Hon. T. L. Nugent, the nation has lost one of her purest patriots, the state one of her best citizens, the bar of the country one of its most exemplary members, the People's party a leader beloved by all its members and respected by his political opponents; his family, one whose place cannot be filled save by Him who has thus called from the cares and troubles of this life one fit to enjoy the blessings of heaven; and

Resolved further, that we join with all who love honor, in honoring our deceased friend, with all members of our party in mourning the loss of our noble leader, with all citizens in the loss of a noble man, with the bar in the loss of one its most worthy members; and, be it further

Resolved, that we deeply sympathize with his bereaved family in the loss of the husband and father, trust that they may find comfort in his last words, "I have tried to do my duty," and live in the hope of meeting him in another and better world where sickness and sorrow are no more; and

Resolved, further, that all members of labor organizations and citizens generally are requested to unite with us to-morrow morning at 8:30 o'clock at the family residence, corner of Fourth and Taylor streets, to accompany the remains to the train; and, further

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be furnished the *Fort Worth Gazette* and the *Dallas News* for publication, and a special committee of three be appointed to present a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

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ACTION AT HILLSBORO.

HILLSBORO, TEX., Dec. 14.—At a meeting held here to-day by the friends of Judge T. L. Nugent, the following resolutions,

reported by J. G. H. Buck, J. S. Bounds and J. D. Mitchell, were passed:

Whereas, It has pleased the Supreme Architect of the universe to remove Thomas L. Nugent, of Fort Worth, Tex., and take him to Himself, and

Whereas, We deem his demise a mournful calamity to his family, his friends and his state, therefore be it

*Resolved*, By the particular personal friends of the deceased in this community, assembled in Hillsboro, Tex.,

1. That in the death of Judge Nugent there has passed from this to the higher life a soul of ancient and heroic mold, one imbued with the noblest traits of our common humanity, a soul too true, brave and direct for even calumny itself to assail; one devoted to family, friends, country in his life, his action, his sentiment, his motives; in whom no mean cunning or political trickery could even be harbored as a thought, much less cherished as a purpose; one whose nobleness of soul, purity of heart and ability of mind were recognized, admired, lauded even by thousands who dissented from his views; one whose place in the world of morals, politics and professional life will be difficult to fill.

2. That while we acknowledge the wisdom of Him whose decrees are right, we can not but deplore the bereavement that crushes the hearts of the faithful wife and loving children of the dear departed; we cannot but look with sorrow upon the vacant place in our ranks and mourn that as friend, counsellor, leader we shall see his benignant face and hear his words of wisdom no more.

3. That we extend to his bereft family our tearful condolence in their irreparable loss and offer to them the sweet consolation growing out of that bright religious faith which cheered his own life and opened up to him a glorious prospect in the life beyond.

4. That a copy of these resolutions be offered to the *Fort Worth Gazette*, *The Dallas News* and all other papers desiring it, and that one be sent to the family of the deceased.

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## RESOLUTIONS OF RESPECT.

ENNIS, ELLIS CO., TEX., Dec. 14.—News of the death of Judge Nugent was received here to-day, causing many expressions of regret. The Ennis populist club was called together and the following resolutions were adopted in regard to the death of Judge T. L. Nugent:

Resolved, that in the death of Judge Nugent the state of Texas has sustained an irreparable loss as a statesman and patriot.

Resolved, that while we bow with humble submission to the decrees of an all-wise providence, we deem that the Populist party cannot replace the leadership of the "Chevalier Bayard" of their cause.

Resolved, that no truer friend, statesman or patriot has ever represented the populist cause in the state of Texas.

Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to his sorrowing family, and that the *Ennis Evening Meteor* and the *Dallas Morning News* be requested to publish the same.

GEO. H. HOGAN,

H. E. CORLEIN,

JOE MARCUM,

*Committee.*

## EXPRESSIONS OF REGRET.

WACO, TEX., Dec., 14.—News of the death of Judge Nugent was received here in the forenoon in a dispatch to Col. E. A. Jones, and was the cause of expressions of regret in all circles. Judge Nugent was held in highest esteem here. His visits were frequent, and he always made his home in Waco, at the residence of Col. Jones. It happened that when the announcement was made of the death of the populist leader, Col. Jerome C. Kearby, who is regarded as Judge Nugent's successor in political leadership, was here. Judge C. H. Jenkins of Brownwood, another prominent populist, was also here. These gentlemen expressed deep sorrow and a sense of the loss, not only to their cause, but to the state of Texas, which

loses in Judge Nugent a citizen of great intellect and power with the people.

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KIND WORDS BY ALL.

McKinney, Collin Co., Tex., Dec. 14.—The news of T. L. Nugent's death has caused the hearts of his followers to throb with condolence. Nothing but kind words are spoken by members of all parties.

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## HON. THOMAS L. NUGENT.

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The Texas Commoner's Soul Took Its Flight at 2:40 O'Clock  
Saturday Morning.

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CALM AND PEACEFUL END.

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Burial at Stephenville—Funeral Train Placed at Mrs. Nugent's Disposal—Resolutions of Respect—Telegrams.

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FORT WORTH, TEX., Dec, 14,—This city is in mourning to-day. At 2:40 o'clock this morning the watchers at the bedside of Judge T. L. Nugent realized that the end of his earthly career was at hand. He had all but ceased to breathe. In five minutes more the soul of the great Texas commoner was with its maker.

His end was calm and peaceful; in fact, it seemed more like going to sleep than dissolution. Gradually for twenty-four hours his breathing was growing fainter and his last breath was not unlike that of a faint zephyr giving token of the end of a storm. His two elder sons and his devoted wife were at the bedside and their tears were mingled with those of sorrowing friends who well knew the greatness of their loss and the true nobility of soul of the great man who had just been called to his eternal reward.

The end, while not unexpected, was a sad blow to thousands scattered in all parts of the country. With the dawn of day and when it was known over the city that T. L. Nugent was no more, sorrow enthroned itself in every home and a gloom

was cast over the spirits of all. Men differed politically with Judge Nugent, but personally all, irrespective of party, loved him, and now that his voice is hushed and his noble heart stilled forever all concede the beauty and purity of his life and the fact that Texas has been bereft of one of her greatest sons and the bar of the state of one of its rarest jewels. The News correspondent was at his bedside at the end, but owing to the fact that the Western Union telegraph office closes at 2 a. m., could not reach his paper.

The second supreme judicial district court of civil appeals, the seventeenth and forty-eighth district courts, the county and justice courts, on learning of his death, promptly adjourned in respect to his memory until December 16. and about the courthouse all has been quiet and mourning.

Since 4 o'clock this afternoon telegrams of condolence have been pouring in upon Mrs. Nugent. Among those received are the following:

Col. E. A. Jones, of Waco: "You have my deepest sympathy. I mourn the loss of a very dear friend and humanity one of nature's noblemen. I will come to-night."

Judge John C. Main and Hon. J. T. Daniels, Hamilton: "We have heard with deep grief of the death of your pure husband. All Texas mourns with you in your loss."

Hon. E. P. Ashbury, Houston: "Myself and associates mourn our departed leader and mingle our tears with yours."

A. R. Crawford and others of Belton: "Bell county populists send sympathy."

F. C. Thompson and others, McKinney: "Accept sincere sorrow in behalf of the loved and lost, whose memory will ever be cherished in the hearts of all who knew your husband. His grand and noble character will ever be a guiding star to all who aspire to heights of justice and honor. Most sincerely yours."

To-night similar messages are being received from prominent parties at points where his death is known.

Arrangements for Judge Nugent's funeral at Stephenville to-morrow were concluded to-night. As soon as President John Hornby, of the Fort Worth and Rio Grande, heard of

his death and the intention to inter his remains at his old home in Stephenville, he placed an engine, baggage-car and coach at Mrs. Nugent's disposal for use free of charge at such time as she might elect.

This train will leave the union depot at 8:30 a. m. to-morrow and arrive at Stephenville at 12 o'clock, where interment will take place in accordance with the ritual of the Swedenborgian faith, thirty minutes later. Other coaches will be on this train for the accommodation of all who desire to attend. The Rio Grande will also run a special from Brownwood.

During the last illness of Judge Nugent and when it was known he desired to go to Las Vegas, N. M., the Fort Worth and Denver road had all in readiness to transport him and his family there free of charge the very moment his condition would allow. To-night at the Nugent home friends are constantly calling to take a last look at the lifeless form of the noble dead in the handsome casket enclosing it. The casket rests beneath huge piles of rare and costly floral offerings, the last sad tributes of mourning friends.

Early in the organization of the populist party in Texas, Judge Nugent, having been in full sympathy with most of the essential reforms proposed by this party, and especially impressed with profound convictions of the danger to the liberty and happiness of the people by the growth and encroachments of monopolies which have aroused the thought and excited the alarm of so many of the leading scholars and thinkers of America, and believing that democracy was too devoted to traditional and trivial policies, he quietly and in his association and contact with his neighbors began furthering the great popular movement inaugurated by the Farmers' Alliance. This movement among the farmers and the discontented urban laborers, together with the failure of the dominant party in Texas, as he thought, to appreciate the causes and extent of popular discontent, and to formulate remedies adequate to the solution of such difficulties, led to the organization of the now admittedly great and growing populist party.

It is claimed to be a principle and policy of this party to neglect the busy self-seeker of honors and emolument and

revert to the natural laws of manly leadership. Under the operation of this principle and the natural law of leadership, in 1892, Judge Nugent was the unanimous nominee of the party for governor. He could ill afford to accept such nomination, because having always been devoted to intellectual pursuits and public duties he had not cultivated the currents of private thrift, and was therefore not financially able to devote such attention to the canvass as he felt was his duty. Besides, having always been a man of delicate health, he felt that the excitement of political canvassing would overtax his wasted strength. Still the demand was so sincere, spontaneous and earnest that, waiving personal considerations, he consented to lead what was, in his judgment, so his intimate friends say, from its incipiency a forlorn hope otherwise than in its educational effects upon the people.

How well he performed his duty is attested by the fact that he is said to have made no utterance in that campaign which his friends would now have "expunged from the record," and the further fact that he received the, it is said, unexpected vote of over 108,000.

His splendid canvass and that character against which even malice could suggest no taint, led to his second nomination in 1894, and the consequent reunion of the incorruptible elements of the Democratic party. He again entered the campaign, prompted as before by what he conceived to be a sense of duty and devotion to the humble folk which composed the great body of his party.

His second campaign was characterized by high intellectuality and the same catholic sympathy which marked the first and resulted in an increased vote and the demonstration that the Democracy had been reduced from a position of overwhelming majority to depend upon a plurality of votes for success.

That Judge Nugent was a true leader, none will dispute: devoted to what he conceived to be the essential principles of reform, but brave above the letter of claptrap generalities. Relying upon the force of truth, the strength of logic, of which he was a technical master, he despised all the trickery and cunning of those who make a trade of political politics.

At times he has been known to answer those of his counselors and lieutenants who feared that conditions were not favorable to the emancipation of some of the truths involved in the anti-monopoly movement which he was leading, by urging still bolder attacks upon the bulwarks of conventional thought and the entrenchments of the crystallized policies of a dead past.

The history of these two campaigns will ever remain, his party friends say, as monuments of his devotion to truth, justice and manhood.

Personally Judge Nugent was a man of good taste and refinement, which together with his varied learning, delicate consideration for others and infinite sympathy, made of him in personal and social intercourse one of the most companionable of men. He had perhaps the largest personal following of any man recently prominent in Texas politics.

As a lawyer he was characterized by pains-taking care in the preparation of his cases, by the wealth of learning he brought to bear upon the elucidation of difficult points, and by honorable and fair methods, which are perhaps the chief works which always distinguish great lawyers. As an advocate, his forensic efforts were characterized by extreme clearness and adorned by the rich spoils of the schools. His searching examination of a witness in his younger days, and when in perfect bodily health, it is said by those who were associated with him, always excited the admiration of the bench, bar and by-standers. It is said that on one occasion he was known to extort from an unwilling and naturally able witness a confession in substance of the theft of a herd of over 2,000 head of cattle. It is further said that on several occasions unworthy witnesses, trained in the cunning of rogues, were forced by him to make shameful disclosures under his searching logic on cross-examination, and actually thank him after the manner of whipped school boys, when their masters have laid down the rod. It is said on the other hand, that to fair and honorable witnesses he at all times exhibited the deference to which they were always entitled.

Had his lot been cast in the heavily populated districts of the state, it is safe to say that few, if any, would have been

more highly esteemed by his peers either on the bench or at the bar, and his friends believe that the highest honors in professional life would have been easily within his reach. But the flower of his life was spent in a comparatively new and unsettled country remote from the centers of trade and professional efforts, and it was only in his declining years, broken in health, that he removed to Fort Worth.

On the bench he was courteous, considerate, patient and firm. His charges were said to be models of apt enunciation of legal principles, and embellished, as all his utterances were, by a scholarly knowledge of the English language.

Judge Nugent, more than is usual with men of affairs, after his admission to the bar, kept up his classical studies, especially his Greek. But lately he devoted his leisure hours to the study of economic and social questions, and metaphysical philosophy, nor did a fondness for inquiry into the deeper mysteries of religious thought ever depart from him.

Some allusion to his family history is perhaps not out of place. He comes from one of the oldest and most eminent of southern families distinguished by the name of Lewis. His grandfather was an eminent lawyer of his generation and served with marked ability on the supreme bench of Louisiana. His brother, of the firm of Nugent & McWillie, is recognized today as one of the leaders of the Mississippi bar, ranking with such lights as Walthall and George and adding luster to a bar of a state famed from its earliest history for the illustriousness of its bench and bar.

Further details touching this great life would be superfluous. The life whose character was built up on the lines of his last intelligible utterance to his beloved wife, "I have tried to do my duty," remains to his friends a sacred memory, and for those who shall come after, a model and an example.

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#### BAR MEETING.

Fort Worth, Tex., Dec. 14.—At 3 o'clock this afternoon the members of the Tarrant county bar assembled in the seven-



teenth district court room to take action touching the death of Judge Nugent. Upward of 100 were present.

Hon. Newton H. Lassiter was called to the chair and T. P. Martin, Esq., was elected secretary. Chairman Lassiter, with choking voice, feelingly adverted to the enormity of the loss sustained by the legal profession in the death of Judge Nugent, paying him an eloquent tribute as a brother, father, husband, citizen, jurist and statesman. He then stated the object of the meeting to be the taking of action such as was befitting the character of such an ornament to the profession as Judge Nugent had been.

On motion Hon. John W. Wray, Judges J. W. Stephens, Sam J. Hunter of the Second Supreme Judicial District Court of Civil Appeals, and W. D. Harris, of the Seventeenth District Court, were appointed a committee on resolutions.

Pending the report of this committee it was moved and carried that a committee of sixteen members of the bar be appointed to escort the remains to Stephenville, where the interment takes place to-morrow. The committee consists of Col. John Peter Smith, Hons. Newton H. Lassiter, Theodore Mack, R. H. Smith, M. D. Priest, Seth W. Stewart, James W. Swayne, F. G. Thurman, W. S. Essex, John W. Wray, R. S. Blair, J. Y. Hoggsett, B. P. Eubank, J. C. Scott, Judge W. D. Harris and Hon. John M. Moore,

The resolutions committee then reported as follows :

Whereas, nature, by her immutable law and in the certain course of events, has terminated the earthly career of our friend and co-worker, T. L. Nugent ; and

Whereas, he was a respected and honored member of this bar, a most estimable citizen, and in the daily walks of life a noble character ; therefore, be it resolved, by the Fort Worth bar,

1. That the District Courts of Tarrant County are requested to stand adjourned until Dec. 16, 1895.

2. That this bar in separating from Judge T. L. Nugent is deeply sensible of its great loss.

3. That it extends to his family its profound sympathy in the hour of bereavement.

4. That these resolutions be spread on the minutes of the higher courts of the state, the courts of Tarrant County, and that a certified copy of the same be given his bereaved widow.

After touching and eloquent tributes commemorative of the high, pure life of the deceased, his worth as a friend, citizen, statesman and jurist from Hous. A. M. Carter, E. C. Orrick, Judge John M. Moore, John W. Wray, Sidney L. Samuels, Hon. N. H. Lassiter, Judge S. P. Greene, W. S. Essex, S. O. Moodie and many others, the resolutions were unanimously adopted by a standing vote and with bowed heads.

## REMARKS MADE BY HON. G. H. GOODSON,

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A Beloved Friend of Judge Nugent, During the Funeral  
Ceremonies at the Grave.

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When asked by the family and friends of Judge Nugent to assist in performing these last sad services of earth to him, I gladly consented. I felt then, and feel now, that if our places were changed, it would have comforted my last hours to have known that he, of all men, would have come and stood over my grave in the midst of my family and friends, and done this service for me; and I thought then, and think now, that if in the the other life to which he has passed he be conscious of the events of this—and I believe that he is—it would be pleasing to him to know, that one of his old time friends, who knew him long and loved him well, came with his family and neighbors around his grave and with kind thoughts and gentle words, assisted in laying him away and comforting the distressed hearts of those who loved him. But now, as I stand here over his dear body, shrouded and coffined for the grave, in the midst of the bowed forms, the tearful eyes, and saddened hearts of this vast multitude, in the deep hush of this solemn hour, when the thrilling memories of his pure and gentle life come so vividly into my mind and heart, the power of speech and coherent thought seem to have passed from me.

I knew Judge Nugent as thoroughly and intimately in all the relations of life as one man can well know another, for twenty years; and, in my judgment, he was the purest, gentlest, the loveliest man I ever knew. He had developed in him all the elements of useful and graceful manhood to a higher degree than any one else I ever knew. He was a man of steadfast and

immovable integrity; of profound and forceful ability; a student, philosopher and scholar; ornate, polished and brilliant. To his rare mental acquirements, he added a nature of gentle and deep humanity; kind, helpful, loving, and forgiving, he was incapable of entertaining malice, and always found some kind and charitable word for every one. Of great philanthropy, deep sympathy, easily siding with the weak, the lowly, and the oppressed; a close and attentive student of the great social, economical and political questions that have occupied public thought within the last decade, he fully believed that wealth had too much power, that poverty had too much weakness, in our social and political conditions; and in his later years he turned away from the political traditions and associations of his earlier life, and patiently, lovingly, and in deep sincerity, devoted himself to what he considered the highest interest of all the people—the betterment of the condition of the great body of the laboring people.

Whether or not the changes he advocated, the policies that he insisted on and advocated before the world with such profound ability, were wisest and best, the rapidly unfolding events of the near future will soon determine; but of his absolute sincerity and loving patriotism, we all ever knew.

He was a lawyer in the best and highest sense, and in his conduct illustrated the glory of his profession. As a Judge, he was able, pure, and impartial, was eminently just, and administered all the high powers of his office and the force of his great character to discover the truth and conserve the right. He was of a deeply religious disposition, not, indeed, of the current kind; for his mind was too large and his soul too great to put the limitations of modern theology on the Divine attributes and purposes of "Our Father who art in Heaven." His religion was of that deeply rational kind that seized upon and appropriated the great Christ-life, as it was actually lived among men from the banks of the Jordan to Joseph's tomb. He delighted to believe in and practice the great truths in the "Sermon on the Mount," and he believed with the Christ, that rational Christianity consisted in the practice of the great truths therein taught—in patient and loving service, feeding

the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, and going in unto those who are in prison—doing these and other works of love and helpfulness to all, and especially, to the “least of these, my brethren.”

I feel so thankful that I have not waited until he was dead to think and say these things over his grave, for I so believed and so spoke while he was living, and of this he always knew. When he rallied during the last hours of his mortal weakness and said to his wife, “I have tried to do my duty,” he but spoke what all men knew to be the underlying and controlling inspiration of his great and heroic life.

At the end of a life like his there is no “dark valley” or “chilly waters” to pass through—not at all; but what we shudder at and call death is but the beginning of higher life, the next orderly step in the great course of nature, necessary to enter into that higher form of spiritual existence made possible by the life lived here, and that in its unfolding and developing possibilities, will be of immortal growth, of unspeakable grandeur and beauty. So living, so believing, and so dying, this dear man has entered upon the great life; and though saddened by his leaving us, when we consider that he has entered into unending rest and glory with his God, I ask, as did the poor school-master at the grave of “Little Nell,” if we possessed the power, which of us would dare to utter the word that would recall him? Let us all here, standing over his dead body, amid the memories of his poor spirit and upright life, consecrate ourselves anew to all those great and high purposes of life that were so beautifully illustrated in his character and conduct. The world has been made better by his having lived in it and, though dead, he will still live here in the never ending influence of his pure and gentle life.

To his wife and to his children, it should rest like a benediction all their future life, that they have borne that relation to this truly great and loving man. To his friends it should, and will be, a dear and cherished memory that they enjoyed his affection and esteem.

And now, as we lay his body away in this grave with tears and saddened hearts, let us all gather inspiration from the

solemnities of this hour, to live always along the high lines of thought and conduct that he lived, that with us at the end it may be, as we know it was with him, peaceful, confident, victorious.

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## AT REST.

[Reform Press.]

He is dead. The people of Texas stand uncovered by his grave. The soul of the great Texas commoner has passed over the river. Judge Thomas L. Nugent is no more. He passed quietly away at his home in Fort Worth, Saturday morning at 2:40.

His end was calm and peaceful; in fact, it seemed more like going to sleep than dissolution. Gradually for twenty-four hours his breathing was growing fainter and his last breath was not unlike that of a faint zephyr giving token of the end of a storm. His two elder sons and his devoted wife were at the bedside and their tears were mingled with those of sorrowing friends, who well knew the greatness of their loss and the true nobility of soul of the great man who has just been called to his eternal reward.

The end, while not unexpected, was a sad blow to thousands scattered in all parts of the country. With the dawn of day and when it was known over the city that T. L. Nugent was no more, sorrow enthroned itself in every home and a gloom was cast over the spirits of all. Men differed politically with Judge Nugent, but personally all, irrespective of party, loved him, and now that his voice is hushed and his noble heart stilled forever all concede the beauty of his life and the fact that Texas has been bereft of one of her greatest sons and the bar of the state one of its rarest jewels.

Early in the organization of the populist party in Texas Judge Nugent, having been in full sympathy with most of the essential reforms proposed by this party, and especially impressed with the profound convictions of the danger to the liberty and happiness of the people by growth and encroachments of monopo-

lies, which have aroused the thought and excited the alarm of so many leading scholars and thinkers of America, and believing that the Democracy was too devoted to traditional and trivial policies, he quietly and in his association and contact with his neighbors began furthering the great popular movements inaugurated by the Farmers' Alliance. This movement among the farmers and the discontented urban laborers, together with the failure of the dominant party in Texas, as he thought, to appreciate the causes and extent of popular discontent and to formulate remedies adequate to the solution of such difficulties, led to the now admittedly great and growing Populist party.

It is claimed to be a principle and policy of this party to neglect the busy self-seeker of honors and emolument revert to the natural laws of manly leadership. Under the operation of this principle and the natural law of leadership in 1892 Judge Nugent was the unanimous nominee of the party for governor. He could ill afford to accept such nomination, because, having always been devoted to intellectual pursuits and public duties, he had not cultivated the currents of private thrift, and was therefore not financially able to devote such attention to the canvass as he felt was his duty. Besides, having always been a man of delicate health, he felt that the excitement of political canvassing would over-tax his wasted strength. Still the demand was so sincere, spontaneous and earnest that, waiving personal considerations, he consented to lead what was, in his judgment, so his most intimate friends say, from its incipency a forlorn hope, otherwise than in its educational effects upon the people.

How well he performed his duty is attested by the fact that he is said to have made no utterance in that campaign which his friends would now have "expunged from the record," and the further fact that he received the, it is said, unexpected vote of over 108,000.

His splendid canvass and that character against which even malice could suggest no taint, led to his second nomination in 1894 and the consequent reunion of the incorruptible elements of the Democratic party. He again entered the campaign,

prompted, as before, by what he conceived to be a sense of duty and devotion to the humble folk which composed the great body of his party.

His second campaign was characterized by high intellectuality and the same catholic sympathy which marked the first, and resulted in an increased vote and the demonstration that the Democracy had been reduced from a position of overwhelming majority to depend upon a plurality of votes for success.

That Judge Nugent was a true leader none will dispute ; devoted to what he conceived to be the essential principles of reform, but brave above the letter of claptrap generalities. Relying upon the force of truth, the strength of logic, of which he was a technical master, he despised all the trickery and cunning of those who make a trade of political politics. At times he has been known to answer those of his counsellors and lieutenants who feared the conditions were not favorable to the emancipation of some of the truths involved in the anti-monopoly movement which he was leading by urging still bolder attacks upon the bulwarks of conventional thought and the entrenchments of the crystallized policies of a dead past.

The history of these two campaigns will ever remain, his party friends say, as monuments of his devotion to truth, justice and manhood.

Personally Judge Nugent was a man of taste and refinement, which, together with his varied learning, delicate consideration for others and infinite sympathy, made him in personal and social intercourse one of the most companionable of men. He had, perhaps, the largest personal following of any man recently prominent in Texas politics.

As a lawyer he was characterized by painstaking care in the preparation of his cases, by the wealth of learning he brought to bear upon the elucidation of difficult points, and by honorable and fair methods, are perhaps the chief works which always distinguish great lawyers. As an advocate his forensic efforts were characterized by extreme clearness and adorned by the rich spoils of the schools. His searching examination of a witness in his younger days, and when in perfect bodily health, it is said by those who



were associated with him, always excited the admiration of the bench, bar and by-standers. It is said that on one occasion he was known to extort from an unwilling and naturally able witness a confession in substance of the theft of a herd of over 2,000 head of cattle. It is further said that on several occasions, unworthy witnesses, trained in the cunning of rogues, were forced by him to make shameful disclosures under his searching logic on cross-examination, and actually thank him after the manner of whipped school boys, when their masters have laid down the rod. It is said on the other hand that to fair and honorable witnesses he at all times exhibited the deference to which they were always entitled.

Had his lot been cast in the heavily populated districts of the State, it is safe to say that few, if any, would have been more highly esteemed by his peers, either on the bench or at the bar, and his friends believe that the highest honors in professional life would have been easily within his reach. But the flower of his life was spent in a comparatively new and unsettled country remote from the centers of trade and professional efforts, and it was only in his declining years, broken in health, that he removed to Fort Worth.

On the bench he was courteous, considerate, patient and firm. His charges are said to be models of apt enunciation of legal principles, and embellished, as all his utterances were, by a scholarly knowledge of the English language.

Judge Nugent, more than is usual with men of affairs, after his admission to the bar, kept up his classic studies, especially his Greek. But lately he devoted his leisure hours to the study of economic and social questions, and metaphysical philosophy, nor did a fondness to inquire into the deeper mysteries of religious thought ever depart from him.

Further details touching his great life would be superfluous. The great life whose character was built up on the lines of his last intelligible utterance to his beloved wife, "I have tried to do my duty," remains to his friends a sacred memory, and for those who shall come after, a model and an example.

*The Sentinel* desires to add to what has already been said.

Our political associations brought us frequently in contact with Judge Nugent. To know him was to love him.

In personal character he was clean and without reproach. As a scholar he took high rank. As a jurist he secured a distinction never before accorded to a district judge in this state. One of his charges to a jury is given entire in the Texas Reports, handed down by the higher judges as a complete exposition of the law. His political opponents and those who did not enjoy an intimate personal acquaintance with him, all join in an appreciation of his virtues and admiration of his typical American character. In his public life he was devoted to principle, resolute in the discharge of duty, diligent, informed and able. Conciliating to opponents, refined in speech, courteous in manner, with a bounteous fund of loving kindness, he had the respect of friend and foe. He loved his state as a son his mother, and the country with undying devotion. He was a lover of liberty, of freedom in its broadest sense, not only of the person, but of thought and speech. He was always an educator of the people. His thoughts were fresh, vigorous and instructive. His thoroughness upon every question he touched was marked and habitual. He enlightened and strengthened every cause he advocated. He was great in dealing with them all, dull and commonplace in none. He gained prominence by the force of his cultivated mind, his keen and far-seeing judgment, his unanswerable logic, his strength and power of speech, his thorough comprehension of the subject. He believed that an intelligent people would sustain a man in acting sensibly on each proposition that arose, and in doing nothing for mere show or demagogical effect. No one questioned the accuracy of his learning or doubted the integrity of his purpose. He constantly advanced in public confidence, and wherever he met with or addressed the people he enlarged the circle of his admiring followers.

His strength as a leader was due to his unswerving love of right, and his unmatched ability in satisfying candid minds that he sought with singleness of purpose ways which wisdom commended and truth and justice approved. In the great con-

flict of principles mere expedients to dodge or delay an issue found no favor with him.

Truth is eternal and her time is now. He recognized that in all life's labors duty is ours, results are God's. He despised demagogy, and had little patience with those who seek exaltation by that ladder of corrupt ambition. He loved his fellow-men. He never learned to hate even the meanest of mankind. His countrymen learned to love his precepts and to walk in the light of his example.

Nugent is in his shroud and tomb, but in the hearts of our people he is mighty yet. His utterances and his example will outlast the earthly monument fashioned to make his name immortal. His grave will be the patriots shrine; his life and character be an inspiration to the lovers of freedom throughout the world.

Whatever of him we have loved, whatever of him we have admired, remains, and will remain in the eternity of time.

And is he dead, whose glorious mind  
Lifts thine on high?  
To live in hearts we leave behind  
Is not to die.

\* \* \*

## THOMAS L. NUGENT.

Nugent is dead! The friend, father, husband, citizen, jurist, statesman, of whom any state or nation might justly have been proud, is no more. How painful the knowledge of his departure! Oh, Death, thou art a monster! And looking around, I am made to exclaim, "How is the aching void to be filled!"

Nugent was a man of sterling integrity. He was wise, patriotic, good. No suffering humanity "passed he by on the other side." No widow's moan or orphan's cry shall rise up to condemn his righteous soul.

But he is lost, lost to his friends and to his family. Lost to all who have an abiding interest in country, home, and human welfare.

He was a great teacher. He taught by precept and example. He was very apt in making truthful and patriotic utterance, and then true to carry them out in public and private life.

I once wrote him for advice. His answer sparkled with brilliant mottoes for the populist and the citizen.

"No man ought, for political effect, do that which his conscience and judgment cannot fully approve."

"I have steadily refused to become identified with any secret political organization, and if the People's party should ever become merged in any such organization, I would quit it at once. Indeed, I would do so if it should ever be dominated by such an organization."

"I have long since determined in public matters, to hold fast to principle, even in the face of inevitable defeat."

"Success attained by compromising one's convictions of right can only in the end bring the bitterness of disappointment."

"If the reform movement fails, it will only be because misguided and deluded people insist on packing upon it issues it cannot safely carry. These, and many others are knocking at our doors, and thousands of our people are now endeavoring to force them upon us. There is but little hope for us if such efforts succeed. There is nothing in any of these things that carries any hope for humanity."

"Populism seeks to restore the government to the control of the masses. If populists, therefore, go off after such side issues—if they join in with Democrats and Republicans in putting them above their own platform in importance, can they hope to succeed at all? I would not, to be president of the United States, even by indirection, endorse or approve one of these things."

All of these, and then came his last audible words, "I have tried to do my duty." It is useless to say there is wisdom, profound wisdom in these utterances. And then how impressive when we know they were strictly adhered to and practiced.

I cannot quit this subject without quoting from his letter in which he announced his withdrawal from active political work: "But political leadership ought to contemplate something

higher than service of friends. There is the service of country, of the cause of humanity, which should command the attention of him who consents to take upon himself the burdens and responsibilities of candidacy for high office. That I may aid in some degree in quickening the public thought, so that honest and humane men might be brought to see, as with open eyes, the social injustice which puts unnatural burdens upon the thrift and industry of the country, that I might be able to show how poverty might be banished from our social system, and comfort and happiness brought to the door of every industrious man, and that I might by means of the opportunities afforded by political discussions, be able to point out the remedies which alone can bring about these conditions—constituted with me the only excuse or justification for entering the field of politics. Possibly I hope for too much. If so, my only excuse is, that many years of study and reflection have so aroused my sense of the wrongs heaped upon the humbler classes of our citizens, that I seemed incessantly to hear their cries of distress, and was thus impelled to attempt more than my physical strength or the occasion justified.” Noble philanthropist !

“ He lived for those who loved him,  
Whose hearts were kind and true;  
For the God who ruled above him,  
And the good that he could do.”

And the poor and laboring were his special wards.

Judge Nugent neglected his office and home affairs, when by remaining there he could have enriched himself, took up the cause of the labor class when there was absolutely no hope of emolument or success even in sight, and bore the brunt necessarily attached to the cause of unpopular right. But with his masterly eloquence and scientific reasoning he has ever been able to sustain his position against the strongest Bourbon assailant. But sacrifice and martyrdom always precede freedom and liberty of the masses, and this is by no means an exception to the rule. Nugent was one of the men who spent their good lives for the cause of right against might, and received not a penny in return. Yet, mid all his adversities, he led a life that was irreproachable for purity and honesty.

And now, when triumph and glory are ready to crown his efforts, his failing health forces him to lay aside his armor and retire from the field only to be released from his sufferings and pass out, after shouting to his comrades, "Press on to victory, my heart is with you."

The last words of his last communication to the public were: "I want to say to the reformers of Texas that I shall carry in my heart always the deepest sympathy and affection for them, and gratefully remember the unwavering support which from my entrance into political life they have given me."

Many riches he hath left us,  
 In courage and counsel given  
 Before his Heavenly Father bereft us,  
 And took his weary soul to Heaven.

Then weep him not, O sons of toil!  
 Breathe not one sorrowful word,  
 He "tried to do his duty" here  
 And has gone to his reward.

But be determined in the strife,  
 (That you can say what he has said)  
 And succor those who still in life,  
 Are struggling for their daily bread.

His manly soul was touched with grief,  
 At labor's wail from sore oppression,  
 His life was given for our relief  
 —To save this land from retrogression.

Then don the armor (his spirit leads)  
 Nor make the foe one poor concession,  
 But by such noble patriot deeds,  
*Regain control of our possessions.*

J. PERL.

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The spotless Nugent is no more.

The upright man, the kind friend, the able jurist has passed over the river and is now "resting under the shade of the trees."

The wife has lost a husband, the children a father, the poor their best friend, the state one of her brightest jewels.

In his home there is a vacant chair, in his town, a void, in his party, an empty place.

His last words were, "I have tried to do my duty," and there is not a man, woman or child in the borders of the grand Lone Star who does not know his dying words were true writ.

When an honor roll of all the brightest gems, the most glittering diamonds, the purest pearls of the grandest men of earth, of those who kept their garments unspotted from the world, is made up in that kingdom that fades not away, we shall see inscribed thereon by that Power that is perfect and that Hand that cannot err, the immortal name of the spotless Nugent.

Our hand trembles, our head is bowed and our heart is sore troubled, for the friend of the poor, the defender of the oppressed, the protector of the down-trodden, the man whose soul was as pure as the sparkling rain drops, whose heart was as great, as big, as loving, as kind as an angel's, whose life had been read as an open book by all men, though they might disagree, yet would they not condemn, has at last laid aside his battle armor, folded his weary hands and peacefully gone to meet the Rewarder of those who do their duty.

No more, in the councils of his people, will his benign countenance be seen; no more in their deliberations will this unerring hand be there to guide; no more in the struggles, in their efforts for freedom will his voice cheer and his unwavering, unfaltering, unflinching courage spur them on to deeds of greatness. But his pure example, his steadfast devotion to principle, his complete surrender of self to the call of duty, will live in the hearts of his followers as a sainted memory and incite them to more heroic efforts to break the galling bands of bondage that now bind them to the chariot wheels of plutocracy.

In this age of corruption, his hands were clean; in this time of debauchery, his walk was decorous; in this day of venality, his voice was unbought; while on every hand the high oaks that towered in the forests of men, were being swayed by the breath of flattery, were being bent by the blast of public opinion; the silver cyclone, the golden hurricane left his stately form erect amid the fearful destruction that was working such havoc around him.

So long as cruel task-masters drive the children of men to do

their "tale of bricks," so long as the cry of oppression shall go up to the great white throne, so long as the life-blood of the laborer shall be demanded as tribute by the king of greed, just so long shall the memory of this great man live, and his work, his life-labor prompt the toiling to bear with patience the heat of the day and the burden of their toil, for his spirit tells them there is yet a God in Israel who will hear and hearken.

When the lion of Wall street and the shorn lamb at his feet, when the rich and great, the despised and the unprotected, the Pullman and the poor, the robbers and the robbed, the gold king in his gilded palace and the honest yoeman in his wretched hovel can each and all receive justice, equal and exact before the law, and peace and plenty reign supreme in this "then land of the free and home of the brave" will the name of the spotless Nugent be inscribed in every home, in every heart.

\* \* \*

## JUDGE NUGENT DEAD!

This sentence will send a thrill of sorrow to the heart of every true reformer in the nation.

Last Saturday morning, at his home in Fort Worth, all that was mortal of Thomas L. Nugent passed back to Mother Earth while his noble spirit winged its flight to a purer, better existence beyond the shadow of death. For some weeks the Judge had been hovering between life and death, and, although feeble in health, his spirit was as bright as ever. Many eyes for the last ten days have watched eagerly each changing symptom as it was reported by the daily papers.

Few men of note possessed the absolute love and confidence of all the people to such a degree as did Judge Nugent. Truly it could be said of him that behind him stood the "Three Hundred."

A leader of men, a moulder of public sentiment, a patron saint in populism, he was at all times and on all occasions the same imperturbable, undemonstrative, cool, conservative, yet vigorous and active, friend of all humanity.



Gifted with eminent legal attainments, brilliant as an orator and sound as a logician, he forestalled all these callings for the ministrations of the Good Samaritan. While endowed with a high order of statesmanship, his home circle and familiar acquaintances counted their number into the scores.

The only man whom the Populists of Texas have permitted to be called a "leader" is gone, and, although bereft of our pilot, the good deeds and words of the man himself will lead us to greater achievements.

Loved and respected, and even admired by his political enemies, his death will be keenly felt by the whole people of the state.

In sorrow we bow, in humble submission, to the will of Providence. Our loss is his gain.

Judge Nugent was 54 years old, and leaves a wife and family to mourn his loss. To them we extend our sincere sympathy in this their sad affliction.

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LETTERS OF SYMPATHY AND CONDOLENCE,  
AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF  
MRS. NUGENT.

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[The *News* correspondent's and circulator's headquarters are in the office of Winters, Davis & Co., Hotel Worth building, corner Main and Seventh streets.]

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LETTER FROM MRS. NUGENT.

Fort Worth, Tex., Dec. 23.—Mrs. Nugent continues to receive letters of sympathy and condolence.

Hon. C. J. Nugent of Mount Sterling, Ky., brother of Judge T. L. Nugent, writes, among other things saying:

“The sorrow of so great a bereavement is greatly modified, however, by the remembrance of his true and innocent life, his undoubting faith in God for this life and that which is to come. I have often lamented our long separation and looked forward with joyful anticipation to meeting him at Centenary college next summer, when he would be there to address the alumni association. Brother William and I had arranged, God willing, to meet him there. The great impression he made on me when he was a boy, 2½ years older than I, by his bright, aspiring intellect, his unusual knowledge, his mature judgment, and most of all, by his generous, unselfish nature and his complete integrity—that impression has grown all these years. It was a great comfort and pleasure to me when Dr. Wells, Baptist minister, and our own preachers at Memphis last year from Texas testified that he was the greatest and one of the best men in Texas. Senator Coke said of him to brother William: “He is the biggest man we have in the state.”

Hon. H. L. Bentley of Abilene, who managed the first gubernatorial campaign made by Judge Nugent, writes:

"I have heard of Judge Nugent's death, and am so shocked that I am not equal to the undertaking of expressing to you how sad the news makes me. I had heard of his sickness and had written to him, begging him not to give up to the disease that was threatening his life, but I had not thought it possible that just when he was so much needed by the people of Texas, he would be taken from them. There were so many of us who were associated with him in the effort to make conditions easier for the poor of the state. I need not say to you that your noble husband was my friend, and that I loved him as I have loved but few of my friends."

Hon. Thomas B. King, County Judge of Erath County, writes:

"The overflow of all classes of people from all sorrowing sections here yesterday, demonstrates things that were comforting from the neighbor side of life. Much more, be assured, that if you could see from the God side would you be comforted. God and the neighbor is all the law and the gospel."

Hon. A. Freeland, secretary and treasurer of the Texas State Single Tax League, Waco, writes:

"Accept condolence of the single taxers of the State of Texas in your sad bereavement. We recognize your loss as our loss, and a loss to all forces which are working for the uplifting of humanity. But the influence of Judge Nugent's life, the deeds done, the words uttered, the example set can never be lost. May the day soon come when conditions will be so adjusted that the brotherhood of man will be an established fact, when such heroes as your beloved husband will be the rule, not the exception."

J. W. Baird, Luling: "We feel with you the great loss to you, to us, the State, and above all to the poor of all classes throughout our great nation. Loved and respected of all men, his name will be honored and revered as long as the love of liberty is cherished by the American people."

Hon Marion Martin, Corsicana, writes: "If all the expressions of sympathy and sorrow occasioned by the death of your

noble husband, Thomas L. Nugent, could reach you it would require volumes to contain them, and add to these the deep, sad, silent and unexpressed sorrow beating in the hearts of his patriotic associates in this great reform, who have learned to appreciate his noble life, his wise counsel in this, the darkest hour of our country's history. Let me assure you that the sacrifice he made for the cause and principles they loved will inspire within their hearts a patriotic sentiment that will live as long as memory lasts. My appreciation of Judge Nugent's character was formed by being associated with him in the convention that framed our State Constitution in 1875, and I am confident that I express the opinion of every member of that convention, that, in his every act as a member, he always tried to do his duty. And oh, what a pleasure to me, as a life-long friend, I can truthfully say his dying words were the guide that prompted his every act with his fellow-men, through his short but useful life. Who can estimate the loss of such a man in this hour of our country's greatest need? When the power and influence of money has chilled even the spirit of Christianity, and almost driven the spirit of patriotism from the land. May his dying words inspire our hearts with renewed energy and determination that will enable us in our last moments to truthfully say, "I have tried to do my duty."

Mrs. Emma K. Turner, Perry, Ok.: "The world has lost a noble man and the people of Texas in particular a great friend, whose place can never be filled."

Hon. E. L. Dohoney, Paris: "From the human standpoint the departure of Judge Nugent seems untimely and almost an irreparable loss to the people of Texas, to the grand army of political reformers of which he was the acknowledged leader, to the small circle of philosophical and ethical students to whom he was known as an advanced thinker, but most of all to you, who best knew his great analytical mind and his deep loving nature. But to you and I and all who recognize 'the things which are not seen' with the natural [physical] eye, he is not dead, but lives on a higher plane, when, freed from the shackles of matter and the environments of time and sense, he works with a far greater spiritual leverage for the redemption of

oppressed humanity. Those last words, 'I have tried to do my duty,' express the sum of his earnest and pure life and are a sure guaranty that his noble work was not ended, but only in reality begun. Through the countless years of eternity his course will be onward and upward on the pathway of truth in the sunshine of love."

Hon. J. S. Stroughan, who is now the presiding Judge over the district long graced by Judge Nugent, writes: "I need not tell you how sorrowful I feel, since you perhaps knew something of my strong admiration and friendship for Judge Nugent. I had known him intimately for twenty years, during all of which time he was my personal and professional friend."

J. W. Thomas, Abilene: "I have lost a friend of many years' standing."

D. M. Reedy, Tyler: "To us of east Texas his death was a surprise and a shock. We loved and trusted your husband and to us he was the star of our hope. \* \* \* He was the greatest and best and purest public man I have ever known."

Mrs. Alice McAnulty, Cireleville: "Your loss, while irrevocable and inconsolable perhaps at the present, is one individually felt throughout the whole country wherever humanity, love and patriotism and loyalty exists."

In addition to the above are many letters of similar import from all sections of the state, resolutions of bar meetings, alliances, citizens' meetings and other organizations. There is not a day that visitors from all sections of the state do not call upon Mrs. Nugent in person to pay their respects. A delegation of Johnson countyites here to-day were among the callers.

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FORT WORTH, Tex., Dec. 22.—Kindly permit me space in your great paper to express my gratitude to the people of Texas for the uniform and deep sympathy so generously and sincerely extended me in the hour of my great affliction.

I have not had the heart to sooner undertake the task of expressing to the whole people the gratefulness that wells up in my soul and almost overwhelms me.

It will not be possible for me to acknowledge individually

the receipt of the many tender letters and messages of condolence and sympathy and resolutions expressive of the love and esteem in which my husband was held, sent me, and the sincerity of the sorrow of all at his death. I can only say to one and all that I will, and his children will, ever cherish in loving remembrance each and all the many evidences of love and esteem for him and sympathy for his bereaved loved ones.

I desire to especially thank the management of the Fort Worth and Rio Grande Railway Company for its kindness in extending to me the special train from Fort Worth Dec. 15 last, on which day were transported, free of charge, the earthly remains of my beloved husband and the funeral party to Stephenville and return. This generous action on the part of this road will long be remembered by us all, and I will only plead the inadequacy of language with which to more forcibly convey to its management the appreciation due its generosity; the people of Fort Worth, among whom I will continue to make my home, for their devotion to Judge Nugent and his family at all times, and especially during the closing days of his life, when, hour by hour, many of them stood by his bedside and mingled tears with ours as the life tide slowly ebbed away; his faithful friends and party associates, who so nobly stood by him in all his battles for the right; the people of Stephenville, among whom we so long resided, loved so well and were loved in return, and amid whom my husband's body now rests, in accordance with his oft-expressed wishes; the bars and the people generally of the judicial district over which he so long presided and among whom he spent many of the happiest years of his life; the press of Texas for the generous treatment of him when living, and the justice done him since his death.

I wish especially to thank the *News*; for it, while differing with him politically in his lifetime, at all times treated him and the great cause of the masses of the people championed by him with a degree of justice and fairness challenging the admiration of all, and early winning for it and its representatives his complete confidence and respect. The fairness and impartiality with which the *News* treated the death and reviewed the life-work of my beloved husband cannot fail to commend it to all

who knew him. From the bottom of my heart I thank the *News* and the press of the state.

My sorrow is tempered by a knowledge of the fact that thousands in Texas and elsewhere mourn with us, and during the remainder of life my heart will pulsate with love unutterable, and my lips will speak prayers for the prosperity, success and happiness of you all. May an all-wise Creator bless you, is the sincere prayer of

MRS. THOMAS L. NUGENT.

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## TO THE MEMORY OF HON. T. L. NUGENT.

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MRS. F. C. THOMPSON, M'KINNEY, TEXAS.

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What low, pathetic anthems fill the air,  
And mingle holy reverence with the breeze,  
And touch the heart with sacred, gentle care  
That gives a moment earthly sorrows ease?

'Tis chanting of an angel-spirit throng,  
Which from the pearly gates of heaven descend,  
To rescue from the grasp of worldly wrong  
A chosen soul, God's altar to attend.

See! as they come within the mournful room  
And hover o'er the form upon the bed,  
They pause and note the woe, the grief, the gloom  
Which breaks the widowed heart and bows her head.

They falter ere they check the ebbing tide,  
And pity her with smiles of angel beauty,  
And soothe her with his last words ere he died,  
Immortal words, "I've tried to do my duty."

Yes, ever will that noble utterance be  
A comfort and a balm unto her heart;  
While his own faith and deep sincerity  
Showed his had always been a soldier's part.

He leaves behind a host of weeping friends  
And followers who greatly feel his loss,  
The sighs of many a lonely heart attend  
The fleeing of his spirit to the cross.

—From *The Weatherford Leader*.

## CHEROKEE COUNTY RESOLUTIONS.

*To the Chairman of the People's Party of Cherokee Co.:*

We, your committee appointed to submit resolutions on the death of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Hon. Thos. L. Nugent, beg leave to submit the following :

WHEREAS, in His infinite wisdom it has pleased the great Judge to call from his earthly labors to the Court above, our dear brother and beloved judge, Thos. L. Nugent, therefore be it resolved by the executive committee of Cherokee County, Texas, now in session in the town of Rusk :

*1st.* That in the untimely death of Judge Thomas L. Nugent the State of Texas has lost a noble citizen, the country a pure and true patriot, the judiciary an able and honest member, his family a loving and devoted father and husband.

*2nd.* That the oppressed have lost a zealous friend, reform and good government a faithful disciple, always brave, true, conscientious and modest.

*3rd.* That we have a model in his life which all can look upon with feelings of joy and pride ; a life upright, devoted, and when closely written, says there is neither blemish nor stain—a life ending with the triumphant signal to loved ones as he crossed over the river, " I have tried to do my duty."

*4th.* That it was of such as he that Holland thought when he broke forth in that fervent prayer, " God give us men as time like this demands, great minds, strong hearts, faithful and ready hands; men whom the lust of office cannot buy; men who have opinions and a will; men who have honor; men that will not lie; men who will stand up before their fellow men and compel their respect; tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog in public duty."

*5th.* That a copy of these resolutions be furnished by the

secretary to the publishers of the *East Texas Reformer*, *Southern Mercury*, *Nacogdoches Plaindealer* and *Tenaha Ledger*, with a request that they publish same. And that the chairman of this committee have a copy prepared and sent to the family of Judge Nugent.

Respectfully submitted.

S. R. WHITLEY,

S. F. STOVALL,

P. H. FORD,

Committee.

The above resolutions were unanimously adopted with bowed heads.

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## PEOPLE'S PARTY CLUB.

Floresville, Texas.

Regular meeting, Saturday, December 21, was called to order at 8 p. m., with vice-president J. A. McDonald in the chair. On motion the roll call was dispensed with.

Lucio Rodriquez joined the club.

The following resolution was read by the secretary and being feelingly seconded by L. A. Lawhon with remarks appropriate to the occasion, was unanimously adopted:

Be it resolved by the People's Party Club of Floresville, Texas, in regular session, that in the death of Thomas Lewis Nugent at Fort Worth, on Saturday morning, December 14, 1895, the state has lost her most eminent and incorruptible citizen; society at large, one of its most conspicuous examples of social eminence, in the highest meaning of the term; the bar of Texas one of its most distinguished and valuable members; the People's Party of Texas and of the United States one of its purest, most self-sacrificing patriots; and the family of the deceased its pride, stay and central ornament:

Resolved, that the deepest sympathy and condolence of this club is hereby offered to the noble woman who has met this heavy bereavement in a manner becoming the consort and friend of one so eminent, and to all his surviving family:

Resolved, that the following beautiful lines of Edwin Arnold, be adopted by this club as the funeral dirge and memento of the beloved dead, and spread upon our minutes, in perpetual commemoration of his great life and character:

“He who dwells at Azan sends  
This to comfort all his friends.”

Faithful friends! It lies, I know,  
Pale and white and cold as snow;  
And ye say, “ Abdallah’s dead!”  
Weeping at the feet and head.  
I can see your falling tears,  
I can hear your sighs and prayers;  
Yet I smile and whisper this—  
“I am not the thing you kiss;  
Cease your tears and let it lie,  
It was mine, it is not I.”

Sweet friends! what the women lave  
For its last bed of the grave,  
Is but a hut which I am quitting,  
Is a garment no more fitting,  
Is a cage from which at last,  
Like a hawk, my soul has passed.  
Love the inmate, not the room—  
The wearer, not the garb—the plume  
Of the falcon, not the bars  
Which kept him from the splendid stars.

Loving friends! be wise, and dry  
Straightway every weeping eye;  
What you lift upon the bier  
Is not worth a wistful tear.

'Tis an empty sea-shell—one  
 Out of which the pearl is gone;  
 The shell is broken—it lies there;  
 'Tis an earthen jar, whose lid  
 Allah sealed, the while it hid  
 The treasure of his treasury,  
 A mind that loved him; let it lie!  
 Let the shard be earth's once more,  
 Since the gold shines in his store.

Allah glorious! Allah good!  
 Now thy world is understood;  
 Now the long, long wonder ends,  
 Yet ye weep, my erring friends,  
 While the man whom ye call dead,  
 In unspoken bliss, instead,  
 Lives and loves you; lost, 'tis true,  
 By such a light as shines for you;  
 But in the light ye cannot see  
 Of unfulfilled felicity—  
 In enlarging paradise,  
 Lives a life that never dies.

Farewell, friends! Yet not farewell,  
 Where I am, ye, too, shall dwell.  
 I am gone before your face,  
 A moment's time, a little space;  
 When ye come where I have stepped,  
 Ye will wonder why ye wept;  
 Ye will know, by wise love taught,  
 That here is all, and there is naught.

Weep awhile if you are fain—  
 Sunshine still must follow rain;  
 Only not at death—for death,  
 Now I know, is that first breath  
 Which our souls draw when we enter  
 Life, which is of all life center.

Be ye certain all seems love,  
 Viewed from Allah's throne above;  
 Be yet stout of heart and come  
 Bravely onward to your home!  
 La Allah, illa Allah, yea!  
 Thou love divine! Thou love alway!

He that died at Azan gave  
 This to those who made his grave.

*Resolved*, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the family of the illustrious dead, a copy to each of our local papers and to the *Southern Mercury* and *Galveston News*, with request that they be published.

\* \* \*

## JUDGE T. L. NUGENT.

[Austin Statesman.]

The advancing army of political and social reform in our state has met with an almost irreparable loss in the untimely death of our standard bearer, Judge Nugent. He was a man of well nigh unequalled candor and honesty. From a center of original sincerity proceeded his every public utterance. He was above the arts and tricks of the average politician, and never stooped to use them. A native of the South, to the manor born, scarcely passing beyond its limits, he kept himself in touch with the various phases of reform in every land and assimilated whatever was valuable in their experience. Had he survived, it was hoped and expected that he would be placed on the ticket of the People's party next year as their candidate for the vice-presidency.

The farmers of Texas had in him the same absolute and immovable confidence that their grandfathers had in the old hero,

Andrew Jackson. Under the depression caused by ill health and exhausted by the demands of an onerous profession, his heroic fidelity to his convictions never flinched. Truth, as he understood it he maintained at whatever cost. It is vain to try either to estimate his abilities or utter the grief we feel that his useful labors can be exerted on earth for the good of mankind no more forever! Benevolence flowed from his loving soul, as the flashes of day issue from the sun. For he "was a burning and a shining light."

E. M. WHEELOCK.

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STEPHENVILLE, Texas, December 27th, 1895.

*To the W. M., Wardens and Brethren of Stephenville Lodge,  
No. 267, A. F. & A. M.*

We, the undersigned committee, appointed by the Lodge on the 15th day of December, 1895, to draft resolutions expressive of the feelings of this Lodge on the death of our brother, T. L. Nugent, beg leave to report the following:

*First.*—That, whereas it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to call from Labor on Earth our beloved brother, Thomas L. Nugent, to refreshments in the Grand Lodge above; therefore be it

*Resolved*—That in the death of Brother Nugent the Masonic Fraternity has lost a noble and exemplary member, one whose example and precept was ever worthy of imitation and emulation—the country a patriotic citizen—the great body of the people a true friend, and his family a pure, loving, kind and indulgent husband and father.

*Second.*—That we bow with humble submission to the untimely death of our brother, feeling and believing that the Grand Master doeth all things well and our loss is our deceased brother's gain.

*Third.*—That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of this Lodge, and a copy be sent by the secretary, under the seal of this Lodge, to the widow of our deceased brother, to

whom, with our deceased brother's children, we tender our deepest sympathy and condolence in this their great loss and bereavement, all of which is fraternally submitted.

G. H. GOODSON.

LEE YOUNG,

L. N. FRANK, Committee.

Attest, JNO. W. GRAY, Sect'y.













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